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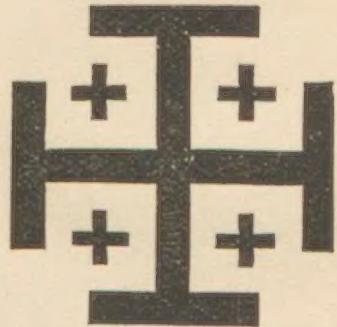
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*Quarterly Statement.*

FOR 1910.



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THE  
PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND.

NOTES AND NEWS.

IT is no news to most of our readers that Mr. R. A. Stewart Macalister has been recently appointed to the Professorship of Celtic Archaeology at the National University of Ireland, Dublin. In congratulating him upon his new post the Committee of the P.E.F. cannot but regret the serious loss which they have sustained; and they warmly appreciate the keen and unselfish labours with which he has furthered the objects of the Fund in the eleven years during which he has been associated with Palestinian excavation. He succeeded Mr. A. C. Dickie in 1898 (*Q.S.*, *ib.* p. 207), and from the time of his first arrival in Jerusalem in September of that year, he has thrown himself zealously into the work. He was associated with Dr. Bliss in the excavation of Tell Zakariya, on the rock-cuttings of which he contributed his first report in the *Q.S.*, Jan., 1899. Since that date he has done a vast amount of original work, either with Dr. Bliss (published in *Excavations in Palestine during the years 1898-1900*), or single handed. How successful have been his labours at Gezer since 1902, everyone now knows, and a glance at the contents of the *Q.S.* of the last few years shows how indefatigably he has striven to further Palestinian research. His plans, drawings, and photographs amount to several thousands, of which only a relatively small number could be reproduced in these pages. His articles cover the whole field of Palestinian archaeology, and include Semitic, Greek, and Roman epigraphy, and studies of the Palestinian gipsy dialect. His investigations have throughout been conducted on thoroughly scientific principles, and extend to the folk-lore, personal-names, music and religion of the modern natives, and to critical studies of the reports of mediaeval travellers.

If the quantity of material which Prof. R. A. S. Macalister has made accessible speaks for itself, those most competent to judge are

unanimous in their appreciation of its quality and of its value for Biblical and Palestinian scholarship. While he has made a name in this field, his new appointment takes him to another distinct field where he has long been known. Apart from an early work on *Ecclesiastic Vestments* (1896), he has published three volumes on Irish epigraphy (1897–1907), editions and translations of various Irish and other texts, studies on the archaeological remains at Fahan and Clonmacnois, and numerous papers and monographs on ancient Irish history and antiquities. The appointment is one that adds lustre to the National University of Ireland, although it is with the truest feelings of regret that the Committee view the loss of his active participation in the work of the Fund. Nevertheless, although Celtic Archaeology will henceforth have the first claim to his energies, and the manifold duties in his new sphere of usefulness are likely to encroach upon his time, Prof. Macalister will of course complete his Memoir of Gezer, with which he is making fast progress; he will still continue to interest himself in the labours with which he has been so successfully associated for a decade, and contributions from his pen may be expected in these pages from time to time. It remains to be added that at a Meeting of the Committee on Dec. 7th, the following Resolution was unanimously carried :—

“That this Committee desire to place on record their high sense of the value of Mr. Macalister’s labours in the excavation of Gezer, and in the Reports and the vast number of plans and drawings with which they were accompanied: also to express their satisfaction with the zeal, intelligence, and tact with which the work has throughout been conducted.”

By the time the present number of the *Quarterly Statement* is in the reader’s hands, application will have been made for permission to excavate another site, which has been selected by the Committee after careful consideration of several which have been superficially examined. It promises to be as interesting in results as either of those already excavated. The Committee, however, consider it inadvisable to indicate it by name until it can be protected from native predators, when the official permit has been granted. Of late years, the emissaries of the dealers in antiquities have become so persistent and industrious, owing to the encouragement of tourists in Palestine, that they constitute a serious difficulty in the way of

scientific exploration, and every precaution must be taken to avoid irremediable injury to the archaeological value of a site before the Society can commence operations.

The Committee have appointed, as Mr. Macalister's successor, and to superintend their excavation of the new site, Dr. Duncan Mackenzie, M.A., who has already acquired a large experience in work of the same nature, having for five years assisted and in part conducted the excavations at Helos for the British School of Archaeology at Athens; and for ten years worked as a colleague of Dr. Arthur Evans in the world famed excavations at Knossos in Crete. Dr. Duncan Mackenzie obtained his degree with First Class Honours at Edinburgh, and that of Ph.D. (*summa cum laude*) at Vienna, and was formerly a Student in the Universities of Munich, Berlin and Vienna. He held the Baxter Fellowship of Edinburgh University from 1890 to 1894, and the Carnegie Fellowship in History from 1903 to 1906. Dr. Mackenzie is Foreign and Corresponding Member of the Imperial and Royal Archaeological Institute of Vienna, as well as Member of the British Schools of Archaeology at Athens and Rome.

Sensational reports have, from time to time, during the last few months, appeared in the London and provincial press relating to works of excavation which have been conducted by an English party of amateurs on Ophel. The operations have been carried on, with much secrecy, in and about the aqueduct discovered by Sir Charles Warren; and their object is locally supposed to be to find the Royal Treasures of David. It is believed that no result of value has been attained; but the work is in no way connected with the Palestine Exploration Fund, nor, so far as we can ascertain, does there appear to be with the party any trained archaeologist. By the last reports the work is suspended.

The subject of the proposed new water-supply of Jerusalem from Wady Farâ is still exercising the minds of the inhabitants. Two schemes are before the authorities. One, a German project, to supply the city by pumping the water from Ain Farâ (some 1,500 or more feet) by means of gas-engines; the other, a local scheme, to bring water from 'Arifut. The former would be costly in working; the latter, in local hands, does not inspire much confidence in its

success. It seems also doubtful whether the demand will be so general, for some time to come, among the inhabitants, who have their cisterns, as to make a large outlay remunerative.

At Beyrouth, the recent excessive rainfall has produced the paradoxical result of scarcity of water. A sudden rise in the "Dog" and "Beyrouth" rivers destroyed the aqueducts of the Beyrouth water-works. Consequently houses and manufactories have been in sore straits for want of water. The railway to Damascus has also been interrupted by heavy "wash-outs."

There is now a regular daily motor-car service between Beyrouth and Sidon; and the journey, which lately occupied the greater part of a day, is made in two hours. A similar service was started between Nablûs and Jaffa, but when last Mr. Macalister was at Nablûs he found that the drivers of the crazy waggonettes, which had been the only available vehicles, had cut the tyres of the motor-car, fearing the loss of their livelihood.

The work of excavation at Samaria, under the able guidance of Dr. Reissner and Mr. Clarence Fisher, has been steadily prosecuted through the past summer and autumn. The results of their labours will be eagerly looked for.

The work of enrolling for military service all the different communities—"Jewish," "Greek Christian," "Armenian," "Latin," etc., is actively proceeding at Jerusalem. A considerable number of Jewish and Christian young men have escaped from the country to evade service, and others are preparing, if selected, to buy themselves off. The difficulties attending the new system of military service for all religions are becoming increasingly apparent, and what may be the final decision in the matter remains to be seen.

Mr. Macalister suggests that the character of the people of Laish, described in Judges xviii, 7, as "careless after the manner of the Sidonians, quiet and secure," may have been partly due to the enervating effect of malaria, assuming this to have been already endemic in the country. If so, this would be an additional argument for identifying Laish with Tell el-Kadi, situated as it is in the fever-ridden swamps at the head of the Jordan.

The Rev. J. E. Hanauer writes from Damascus to report an interesting discovery of a Greek inscription 470 paces due east of the remains of the gateway in the eastern wall of the outer temple-enclosure. It is on a column drum about 30-36 inches in diameter, forming the foundation-stone of a house. Only part of it was visible, and Mr. Hanauer suggests that the column belonged originally to the temple. We hope to be able to give full information concerning this in the next *Quarterly Statement*.

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Much interest was aroused in the Arabic astrological treatise published by Miss Gladys Dickson in the *Quarterly Statement* during 1908-9, and the Committee have decided to issue it separately in book form. It will be remembered that it was a treatise by a Jerusalem Christian native, and was found by an Arab lying amid an accumulation of things in a house which he had bought. It contained a great deal of very curious material, carefully classified, and was in several respects quite unique. Miss Dickson prefixed a table of the star-names and added explanatory notes to the translation, and the reprint will undoubtedly be valued by those interested in the subject. It can be had by applying to the Acting Secretary (price 1s., post free).

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The December number of *Home Words for Jerusalem* announces that Mr. E. C. Blech, H.M.'s Consul at Jerusalem, has been appointed Consul General at Port Said. His place is taken by Mr. H. E. Satow, formerly at Üsküf, in Macedonia.

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*Home Words* for September reports that during the digging of the foundation at one corner of the new dining hall for the Boys' School, it was found necessary to go down very many feet, but in doing so the workmen came across a really beautiful coloured mosaic. Every effort was made to raise it with as little damage as possible, but unfortunately it could not be kept entire, and it is doubtful if it can ever be reset again as it was. At the same time, pieces of it remain at the school, and they give some idea of the whole.

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After a residence in Jerusalem of 24 years, Dr. Wheeler has left to take up his new post as Head of the Medieval Mission in Man-

chester. His energy and power of raising interest in the Jerusalem Hospital have always been warmly appreciated, and steps are being taken by his numerous friends to offer him a tangible mark of their good-will. Dr. Masterman has arrived in Jerusalem to take Dr. Wheeler's place, and will act as the Local Secretary for the Fund.

In the August number of *Home Words for Jerusalem*, Dr. Percy d'Erf Wheeler gives a summary of the work at the Hospital during the quarter ending June 30th:—"There were 160 more in-patients than last year during the same quarter. There is no doubt that the late epidemic of cerebro-spinal meningitis had a good deal to do with it. Most of the cases we treated were nursed in their own homes, and the mortality was very high. Children suffered the most, although there were quite a number of cases amongst the adults and babies. The actual suffering was very intense at times, and the few that recovered have had a long convalescence to undergo before being fit for anything. No special specific treatment could be found that really cut short the symptoms or cured the patient in a shorter time. Wasserman's Serum, we believe, proved efficacious in some of the cases. Another treatment known as Flexner's was not tried here, owing to the difficulty of getting the serum all the way from America, where it is specially prepared. It has been proved that there are two distinct bacilli that cause the symptoms in cerebro-spinal-meningitis, and each serum attacks its own *special* germ, leaving the other untouched. It was not surprising, then, that so few cases were benefited by the one kind of serum. These facts were proved by investigation at the last epidemic of cerebro-spinal meningitis at New York. The outpatients' department was as crowded as usual, and we notice the increase of eye diseases at the latter part of the quarter. The home visits have increased, too, and nearly 2,000 persons were seen in their homes during these three months. Amongst the in-patients we have cases coming from Cairo, Alexandria, Salonika, Morocco, etc. We are getting more Askenazim coming to us than before. . . . The numbers for the quarter were:—In-patients, 393; out-patients, 4,200; dressings, 4,575; home visits, 2,600; and prescriptions, 11,118.

"August," writes Dr. Wheeler in the September number, "is one of our busiest months in the year, and at its end we have quite

an influx of Jews from Jaffa, Egypt, and the colonies in Palestine, who come up to keep the feast of New Year and Succoth (Tabernacles) in Jerusalem. Many of these come to us for treatment, and not a few are admitted as in-patients, so the work is increased. It is not a little harassing at times to know what to do with the number of applicants who come for one vacant bed in the hospital. The pressure at the out-patients' department and dispensary is greater than ever. We have a good lot of patients in town also on Tuesday and Friday. Fever is most prevalent at this time of the year, also zymotic diseases. The infant mortality is very great. There is an increase in the number of consumptive patients, and the poor Yemen Jewesses seem to be the chief victims."

The Sixth Annual Report of the Valetta Museum gives a summary account of the discoveries made in the course of excavation. The most interesting of these were at the Hal Safliei hypogea, where a stone steatopygous figure was found about 15 inches high; the neck was hollowed out to receive a head, and a stone head was discovered, about  $3\frac{1}{2}$  inches high, with a short peg, which would fit the neck of the statuette. The figure was originally painted red.

In the November number of the *Expositoria Times*, Prof. Sayce supports the identification of Moriah (Gen. xxii, 2) with the temple-hill at Jerusalem. He collects many interesting details which, in his opinion, show that the cultus in and around Jerusalem was in harmony with old Oriental religion. Thus, Ezekiel's altar (Har-el, Ezek. xlvi, 15) corresponds with the Du-azagga, or "Holy Hill," of the temple of Bel-Marduk at Babylon, where the god revealed himself at the feast of the New Year, and delivered his oracles. The city of Nin-ib near Jerusalem, mentioned in the Amarna Letters, is associated with the fact that the ancient god Ellil of Nippur had, as messenger or "angel," Nin-ib, one of whose titles was Nabu "the prophet"; and just as Nebo, the angel of Marduk (who dethroned the older Bel, Ellil), was worshipped at Borsippa which adjoined Babylon, so Nin-ib was worshipped in a city which adjoined the seat of the cult of Ellil. That is to say, there was an old cult at Jerusalem before the introduction of the worship of the Israelite God, and Prof. Sayce describes an interesting parallel to the development. Near Dirr, in Nubia, he discovered a rock shrine originally dedicated to the *ka* of an Egyptian of the XVIIIth dynasty, to

whom offerings were accordingly made. "With the introduction of Christianity the Egyptian became Isu, or Jesus, to whom the old offerings continued to be presented, and after the triumph of Mohammedanism, Isu passed into the Moslem sheikh Isu. The offerings and cult, however, remained unchanged, and to this day the cup of water, or beer, and the bowl filled with corn are duly laid on the ancient altar for the Mohammedan saint."

It may be well to mention that plans and photographs alluded to in the reports from Jerusalem and elsewhere cannot all be published, but they are preserved in the office of the Fund, where they may be seen by subscribers. Those which were sent by Mr. Macalister, illustrating the excavations at Gezer and which were not reproduced in his quarterly reports, have been held over for the final Memoir.

The income of the Society from September 19th, 1909, to December 15th, 1909, was—from Annual Subscriptions and Donations, including Local Societies, £579 9s. 3d.; from sales of publications, &c., £62 0s. 11d.; making in all, £641 10s. 2d. The expenditure during the same period was £453 0s. 10d. On December 15th the balance in the bank was £831 12s. 0d.

Subscribers who have not yet paid will greatly facilitate the Committee's efforts by sending their subscriptions in early, and thus save the expense of sending out reminders. Special donations during the quarter have been received from:—

		£	s.	d.
Col. H. J. Hope-Edwardes	...	...	10	0
Lt.-Col. C. F. Fellows	...	...	5	0
Rev. J. P. Kane	...	...	3	3
		<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
		£18	3	0

Subscribers to the Fund are reminded that, whilst the receipt of every subscription and contribution is promptly acknowledged by the Acting Secretary, they are now published annually, and not quarterly. A complete List of Subscribers and Subscriptions for 1908 was given in the Annual Report published with the April number.

The Committee will be glad to communicate with ladies and gentlemen willing to help the Fund as Honorary Secretaries.

The attention of those interested in the subject of the Exodus of the Israelites is called to a new map of the "Desert of the Wanderings," from Mount Hor on the east to the Suez Canal on the west, and from Mount Sinai in the south to Beersheba in the north, which has been compiled by the War Office, and is based principally upon the sketch surveys of the Palestine Exploration Fund (scale 4 miles to the inch). In eight sheets, price 1s. 6d. per sheet.

The first edition of Mr. Macalister's work, *Bible Sidelights from the Mounds of Gezer*, was quickly sold out, and a second edition is now on sale. It has been written to show how the results of digging in Palestine should appeal not only to the scientific anthropologist or archaeologist, but also to the Bible student who has no special interest in these sciences. The book contains a brief synopsis of the work of the Fund from its foundation to the present, and a description of the site of Gezer, and its history. Price 5s. 4d., post free.

The *Painted Tombs of Marissa*, recently published by the Fund, is now recognized as a very important contribution to the history and archaeology of Palestine in the last centuries before our era. It may be mentioned that the leaflet containing the result of the investigations by Mr. Macalister at the Tombs has been published, and can be had on application to the Acting Secretary by those who possess the volume.

*Golgotha and the Holy Sepulchre*, the last work of the late Major General Sir Charles Wilson, K.C.B., K.C.M.G., F.R.S., D.C.L., LL.D., etc., is now ready. In this work the late Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Palestine Exploration Fund has brought together for the first time all the evidence which the most exhaustive research enabled him to collect bearing on the subject of these Holy Sites; and probably no man living had at once so intimate a knowledge of all investigations in the modern Jerusalem and so complete an acquaintance with what has been written about the Sites from the time of Constantine onwards. The price of the work (demy 8vo)

is 6s., by post 6s. 4d., and cheques should be made payable to the order of George Armstrong, Acting Secretary to the Fund, and crossed "Coutts & Co."

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*Judas Maccabaeus*, by Colonel C. R. Conder, R.E. This interesting little book was among those of which the whole edition was destroyed in the fire at Messrs. Bain's warehouse in 1907. It is now reprinted and can again be supplied (4s. 6d.) on application to the Secretary.

The attention of subscribers and others is called to *A Table of the Christian and Mohammedan Eras*, from July 15th, A.D. 622, the date of the Hejira, to A.D. 1900; price by post, 7d. Also to the *Meteorological Observations at Jerusalem*, with tables and diagrams by the late Mr. James Glaisher, F.R.S. Tourists and all desirous of accurate information about the climate of Jerusalem should not fail to send for a copy, price 2s. 6d.

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The attention of subscribers is also called to a work by Sir Charles Warren, entitled *The Ancient Cubit and our Weights and Measures*. He brings evidence to show that all weights and measures (except those of the metrical system) are derived from one source—the double-cubit cubed of Babylonia.

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Many readers will be interested to know that a reprint of Mr. Armstrong's book *Names and Places in the Old and New Testaments* is now ready. The book has been out of print for some years, but has been frequently enquired for.

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The *Flora of Syria, Palestine, and Sinai*, by the Rev. George E. Post, M.D., Beirût, Syria, containing descriptions of all the Phænogamia and Aerogens of the region, and illustrated by 441 woodcuts, may be had at the office of the Fund, price 21s.

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The Museum and Library of the Palestine Exploration Fund at Jerusalem are in the Bishop's Buildings, near the Tombs of the Kings, where the use of a room has been kindly permitted by the Rev. Dr. Blyth, Bishop in Jerusalem and the East. The Museum is open daily, except Sundays, and the Honorary Secretary, Dr. E. W. G. Masterman, will give all information necessary.

Subscribers in U.S.A. to the work of the Fund will please note that they can procure copies of any of the publications from the Rev. Prof. Lewis B. Paton, Ph.D., Honorary General Secretary to the Fund, 50, Forest Street, Hartford, Conn.

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Subscribers and others may be reminded that the new Raised Map of Palestine, constructed from the Surveys of the Palestine Exploration Fund by the Acting Secretary, is ready. It is on the scale of  $6\frac{1}{2}$  miles to the inch and measures  $3' 6'' \times 2' 6''$ . It has already been used with great success by Professors of Old Testament history, and by teachers in Sunday Schools, and may be especially recommended for large classes of students. On view at the office of the Fund; further particulars may be had on application.

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A complete set of the *Quarterly Statements*, 1869-1908, containing the early letters (now scarce), with an Index, 1869-1892, bound in the Palestine Exploration Fund cases, can be had. Price on application to the Acting Secretary, 38, Conduit Street, W.

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The price of a complete set of the translations published by the Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society, in 13 volumes, with general index, bound in cloth, is £10 10s. A catalogue describing the contents of each volume can be had on application to the Secretary, 38, Conduit Street, W.

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Photographs of the late Dr. Schick's models (1) of the Temple of Solomon, (2) of the Herodian Temple, (3) of the Haram Area and Justinian's Church, and (4) of the Haram Area as it is at present, have been received at the office of the Fund. The four photographs, with an explanation by Dr. Schick, can be purchased by applying to the Acting Secretary, 38, Conduit Street, W.

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Branch Associations of the Bible Society, all Sunday Schools within the Sunday School Institute, the Sunday School Union, and the Wesleyan Sunday School Institute, will please observe that by a special Resolution of the Committee they will henceforth be treated as subscribers and be allowed to purchase the books and maps (by application only to the Secretary) at reduced prices.

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The Museum at the office of the Fund, 38, Conduit Street (a few doors from Bond Street), is open to visitors every week-day from 10 o'clock till 5, except Saturdays, when it is closed at 2 p.m.

The Committee beg to acknowledge with thanks the following books presented to the P.E. Fund Library by General Sir Charles Warren :—

*Antiquities and Coins of Afghanistan.* By H. H. Wilson, M.A., F.R.S.

*The Old Testament in the Light of the Historical Records of Assyria and Babylonia.* By T. G. Pinches.

*Authority and Archaeology, Sacred and Profane.* Edited by D. G. Hogarth.

*The Holy City.* By the Rev. George Williams.

*Englishmen's Greek Concordance of the New Testament.* 8th edition (1885), published by Samuel Bagster and Sons.

*Hadriana Relandi Palaeistica, Vol. III;* Guilielmi Broedelet, MDCCXIV.

*The Universal Cambist and Commercial Instructor, Vol. I.* By P. Kelly, LL.D.

*Catalogue of Mohammedan Coins preserved in the Bodleian Library, Oxford.* By Stanley Lane-Poole.

*A View of the History and Coinage of the Parthians.* By John Lindsay.

*A History of Egypt, Vol. I.* By Flinders Petrie, LL.D.

*Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament.* 5th edition. By the Rev. Prof. S. R. Driver.

*History of Art in Persia (one Volume of Pamphlets).* By Perrot and Chipiez.

*Memoir to accompany the Map of the Holy Land.* By C. W. Van de Velde.

*Edinburgh and Country Croonings.* By J. Lumden.

*Palestine with Maps.* By the Rev. A. Henderson.

*Prichard's Celtic Nations.* By R. G. Latham.

*The Land of Israel.* By Canon Tristram.

*Carthage and Her Remains.* By Dr. N. Davis.

*An Introduction to the Survey of Western Palestine.* By Trelawney Saunders.

*Oriental Translation Fund, Vol. XII, New Series: Pali, Buddhist Psychology.* By Caroline Rhys Davids.

*The Book of Genesis.* By Rev. Prof. S. R. Driver.

*The Temple or the Tomb (fourteen copies).* By Charles Warren.

*The Connexion of the Roman, Saxon, and English Coins.* By W. Clarke.

*The Roadmakers.* By H. Johnson.

*Histoire des Sultans Mamlouks, Vols. I and II.* By M. Quatremère.

*Alberuni's India.* By Dr. Edward Sachau.

*Lightfoot's Works, Vols. I and II.*

*Tables of Ancient Coins, Weights and Measures.* By Charles Arbuthnot.

The Committee also beg to acknowledge with thanks the following books presented to the Library by Mrs. Ross Scott :—

*The Funeral Tent of an Egyptian Queen.* By Villiers Stuart.  
*Thebes, its Tombs and their Tenants.* By A. Henry Rhind.  
*Nineveh and its Remains* (2 vols.). By A. H. Layard, D.C.L.  
*Tent and Testament.* By Herbert Rix, B.A.  
*The Recovery of Jerusalem.* By Capt. Wilson, R.E., Capt. Warren, R.E., etc., etc.  
*Heth and Moab.* By Col. C. R. Conder, R.E.  
*The Land of Moab.* By H. B. Tristram, LL.D.  
*Journal of the Discovery of the Source of the Nile.* By Capt. Speke.  
*The Source of the Blue Nile.* By A. J. Hayes.  
*Tent Work in Palestine* (2 vols.) By Col. C. R. Conder, R.E.  
*Modern Egyptians.* By Edward William Lane.  
*Palestine.* By Col. C. R. Conder, R.E.  
*History of Egypt* (2 vols.). By Samuel Sharpe.  
*Egypt under the Pharaohs.* By H. Brugsch.  
*The Ancient Egyptians* (2 vols.). By Sir J. G. Wilkinson.

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The Committee also acknowledge with thanks, among other journals and books, the following :—

*The Annual of the British School at Athens*, Vols. XIII and XIV, 1906–1908: Excavations at Sparta, the Pagan element in the names of Saints, Hierapolis Syriæ, etc.; The early Aegean Civilization in Italy, by T. E. Peet; Cretan Palaces and the Aegean Civilization, by D. Mackenzie (an important study on the origin of the Aegeans of Crete).

*Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology* (Liverpool Institute of Archaeology), II, 3: A study of Malaria, by W. H. S. Jones; Excavations at Abydos, 1909, by J. Garstang, etc.

*Biblical World.*

*Sphinx*, Vol. XIII, fasc. 2.

*Journal Asiatique.*

*Échos d'Orient.*

*Interprétations erronées et faux monuments. Remarques sur quelques inscriptions récemment éditées.* By L. Belléti.

*Litterarischer Palästina Almanach für das Jahr 5670, 1909/10.* By A. M. Lunz, Jerusalem.

*Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, 1909, Part 6 : The Discoveries in Crete and their relation to the history of Egypt and Palestine (*continued*), by H. R. Hall ; etc.

*Smithsonian Institution*. Report for the year ending June 30, 1908.

*Mittheilungen und Nachrichten des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins*, 1909, No. 5 : Die deutschen tempel-kolonien in Palästina (*concluded*), by F. Lorch.

### NEA ΣΙΩΝ, September–October, 1909.

*Atti della R. Accademia dei Lincei*, 1907–1909 : Full reports of excavations in Italy, Sicily, Sardinia, with plans, illustrations of pottery and other deposits. On IV, 88 sq., is an inscription of interest to Semitic students : θεω αδαθω λιβαρεωτη and θ. a. ακρωρειτη.

The Committee will be glad to receive donations of Books to the Library of the Fund, which already contains many works of great value relating to Palestine and other Bible lands. A catalogue of Books in the Library will be found in the July *Quarterly Statement*, 1893.

For list of authorized lecturers and their subjects, see end of the Journal, or write to the Secretary.

Whilst desiring to give publicity to proposed identifications and other theories advanced by officers of the Fund and contributors to the pages of the *Quarterly Statement*, the Committee wish it to be distinctly understood that by publishing them in the *Quarterly Statement* they do not necessarily sanction or adopt them.

### FORM OF BEQUEST TO THE PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND.

I give to the Palestine Exploration Fund, London, the sum of to be applied towards the General Work of the Fund; and I direct that the said sum be paid, free of Legacy Duty, and that the Receipt of the Treasurer of the Palestine Exploration Fund shall be a sufficient discharge for the same.

NOTE.—*Three Witnesses are necessary to a Will by the Law of the United States of America, and Two by the Law of the United Kingdom.*

## THE POSITION OF THE ALTAR OF BURNT SACRIFICE IN THE TEMPLE OF JERUSALEM.

By COLONEL SIR C. M. WATSON, K.C.M.G., C.B., M.A.

AMONG the questions of ancient sites in the city of Jerusalem, respecting which there are differences of opinion, as held by various authorities, is included that of the Altar of Burnt Sacrifice in the successive Temples at Jerusalem, from the original foundation by King Solomon, down to the complete destruction of the sacred building by the Emperor Titus after his capture of the city.

Of the various opinions which have been put forward from time to time by writers on the subject, there are two only which are generally received as probable, and which it is necessary to discuss. Of these the first is that the Altar stood on the Sakhra, the sacred rock, which at the present time forms the floor of the magnificent Mohammedan building, the Dome of the Rock, commonly but erroneously called the Mosque of Omar; the second theory is that, while the Holy of Holies of the Temple stood over the sacred Rock, the Altar was placed on the comparatively level ground to the east, with its centre point about 180 feet distant from the back interior wall of the Holy of Holies.

In an article which I contributed to the *Quarterly Statement*, in January, 1896, in which a reconstruction of the Temple was suggested, based upon the different documentary authorities and on the results of exploration during recent years, I pointed out that a careful study of the question seemed to make it quite clear that the only solution of the question which would satisfy *all* the conditions, so far as our present knowledge goes, was to place the Holy of Holies over the Sakhra, and the Altar to the eastward of it. The article in question was illustrated by plans, so as to enable the reader to understand the data upon which the conclusions were based.

I had hoped, at the time of writing the paper, that there would have been some discussion as to the probable site of the Altar, as the presentation of different views is of great value in arriving at the solution of a difficult question; but this point was not taken up in

the *Quarterly Statement*. Recently, however, the subject has been re-opened, and by a writer of the highest authority on the topography of Palestine, Dr. G. Adam Smith, in his great work<sup>1</sup> on Jerusalem, a work for which all those who are interested in the history of the Holy City are deeply indebted to him.

In this work, Dr. G. Adam Smith has discussed at considerable length the question of the probable site of the altar in the Temple, and has given his reasons for arriving at the conclusions that the altar was placed on the Sakhra, and that the Temple itself stood to the westward of the holy Rock. As, on the other hand, it appears to be impossible to accept this view as probable, I think that it may be of some interest to those who care to study the question, to repeat and expand the arguments on the other side of the subject, which I alluded to briefly in the article already referred to.

But, in the first place, it will be advisable to quote what Dr. Smith has said respecting the Altar, so as to save readers the trouble of having to refer to his book.

After describing the probable position of the Temple, he goes on as follows:<sup>2</sup>—

"The exact position of the Temple may be reasonably estimated "from the data of Josephus and the Mishna, and from the character "of the Rock es-Sakhra and its surrounding contours. Josephus "says that 'at first the highest level ground on the Hill was hardly "sufficient for the Temple and the Altar,' that is the Altar of burnt- "offering in front of the Temple; and that Solomon and the people "of subsequent periods built walls and banks till the Hill was "made broad. But the summit of the Hill is es-Sakhra, and the "rock levels about it suit the levels of the Temple-Courts as given "in the Mishna. Moreover, the Rock es-Sakhra, now under the "Dome of the Mosque of Omar, is venerated by Mohammedans as "second only to the shrine of Mecca. From the tenacity with "which such sites in the East preserve their character, we may "infer that in ancient times also the Rock was holy; and "Prof. Stade points out that as angels are represented in the "Old Testament as appearing on rocks, it is probable that the "appearance of the angel to David by the threshing-floor, between

<sup>1</sup> *Jerusalem, the Topography, Economics and History from the Earliest Times to A.D. 70.* By George Adam Smith, D.D., LL.D. Hodder and Stoughton, London. 1908.

<sup>2</sup> See *Jerusalem*, Vol. II, Chapter 3, p. 59.

"*earth and heaven*, was believed to have taken place on this very "summit. Moreover, the Rock itself bears proof of having been "used as an altar. A channel penetrates from the surface to a little "cave below, whence a conduit descends through the body of the "Hill; obviously designed to carry off either the blood or the "refuse of sacrifices. From all these data the conclusion is reasonable that the Rock es-Sakhra represents the Altar of Burnt-offering. But as this lay to the east of the Temple, we must place "the site of the latter to the west of es-Sakhra. In that case the "western end of the Temple stood upon some of those substructures, "which, as Josephus emphasises, were frequently laid down from "the time of Solomon onwards."

After describing the Temple of Solomon, Dr. Smith says<sup>1</sup> :—

"In the description of Solomon's Temple, there is no word of "his having constructed an altar. Though in other parts of his "history *a bronze altar before Jehovah* is mentioned, the probability is "that this was a subsequent invention, and that Solomon, at least "at first, simply used the bare Rock es-Sakhra for his sacrifices. In "a later reign we shall find a bronze altar in the forecourt of the "Temple, but this also may have been constructed on the same "rock, the surface of which is sufficient for its stated dimensions."

Dr. Smith considers that in Herod's Temple also, the Altar was placed upon the Sakhra<sup>2</sup> :—

"Twelve broad steps descended from the House to the Court of "the Priests, covering nearly all the 22 cubits which separated the "Porch from the Altar. This was the space between the Temple "and the Altar. No one might stand here while the priest was "within offering incense. A little to the south of the steps stood "the great Laver which had replaced the Bronze Sea of Solomon's "Temple. We have seen reason to believe that the Altar rose upon "the Rock es-Sakhra. In Herod's Temple the Altar, of unhewn "stones, was a massive structure whose base must have been "adapted to the irregular surface of the rock; and, conformably to "this, tradition says it was laid in concrete. The base was 32 cubits "square and one high."

He then goes on to describe the construction of the Altar, as given in the Middoth, but it is unnecessary to quote this, as it does not bear upon the question of site.

<sup>1</sup> See *Jerusalem*, Vol. II, p. 64.

<sup>2</sup> See *ibid.*, p. 505.

Dr. Smith's views upon the subject may be summed up as follows:—

1. That it is uncertain whether King Solomon built an Altar, and that he probably used the bare Rock of the Sakhra as the place of the burnt sacrifices.
2. That when the Altar was erected, either by Solomon or his successors, it was placed on the Rock of the Sakhra, and there continued until the destruction of the Temple.
3. That the Temple was built on the sloping side of Mount Moriah to the west of the rock of the Sakhra.

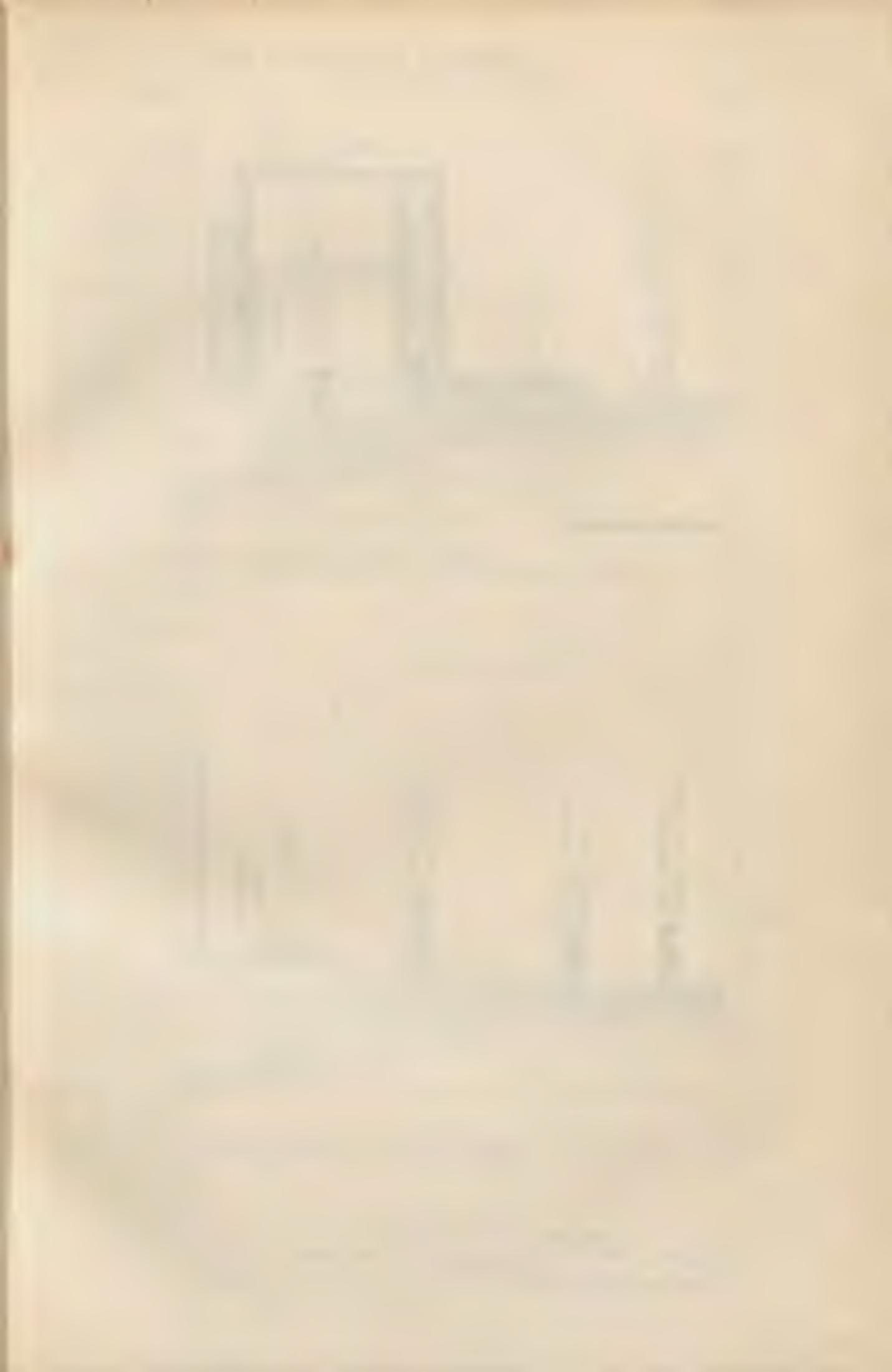
As regards the first point, it is very difficult to accept the theory that Solomon did not use an Altar of burnt-sacrifice. There can be no doubt that King David erected an Altar on the threshing-floor of Araunah the Jebusite, and it is impossible to believe that his son removed this Altar, which was really the central point of the Temple buildings. It is much more likely that Solomon reconstructed or enlarged the Altar erected by his father, than that he made any change in the position that David had selected. Maimonides in the *Beth Habbechereh* is quite clear upon this point when he says<sup>1</sup>:

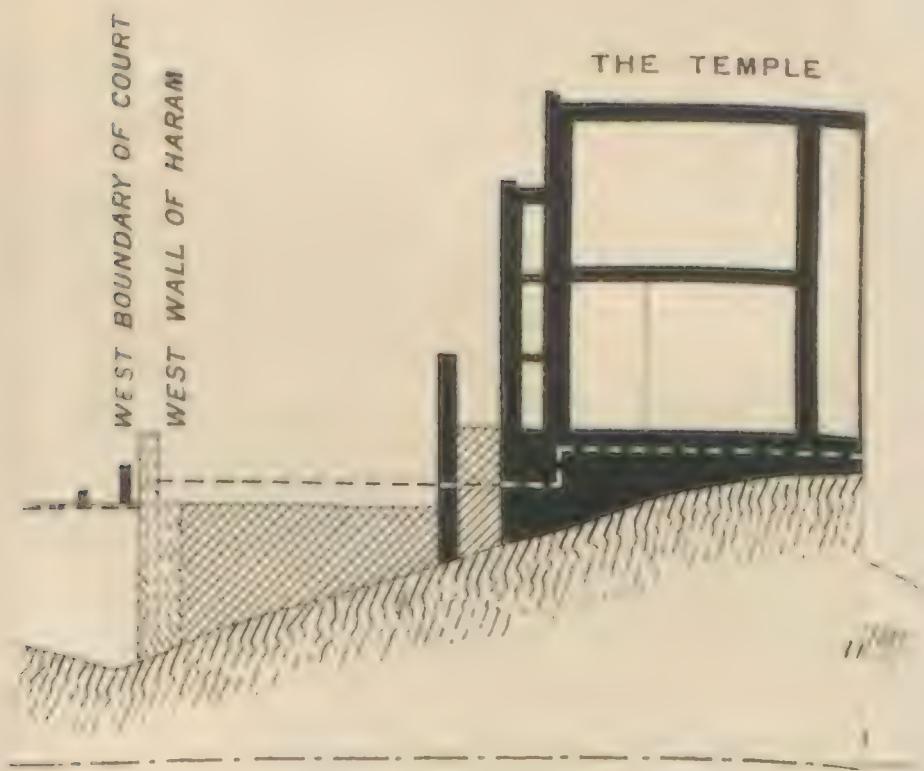
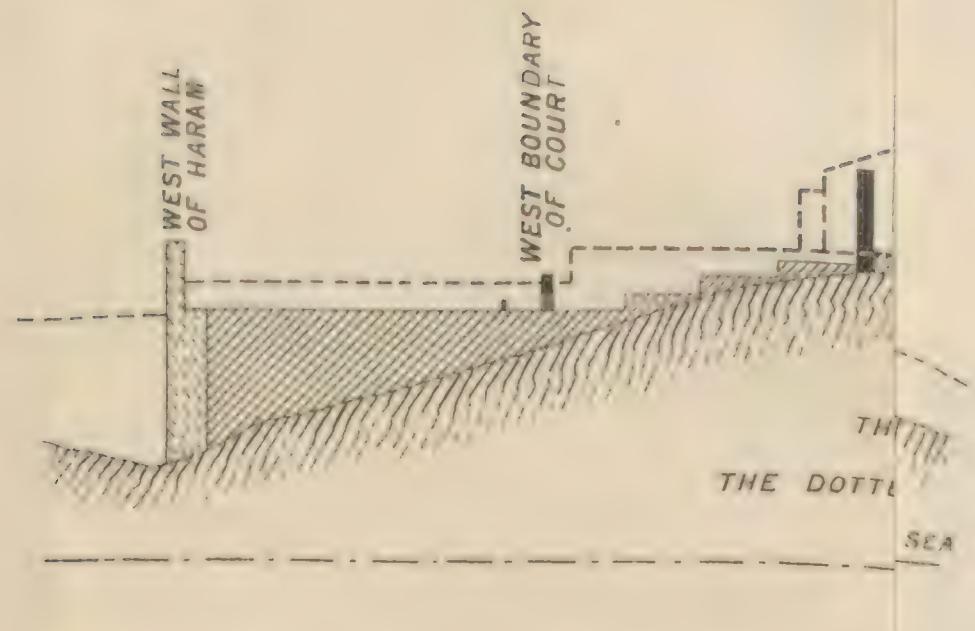
"The position of the Altar was determined with great care, nor did they ever change it from its place, as is said, 'this is the Altar of the burnt-offering for Israel.'"

David's Altar was *on* the threshing-floor, and this fact alone is a proof that it could not have been on the Rock of the Sakhra, which from the roughness of its surface, would have been unsuitable. As those who have been in the East know, it is usual to construct a threshing-floor upon a flat surface, upon which the oxen can walk round and round to thresh out the corn. It is very probable, as Dr. Smith has explained, that the angel appeared on or over the Sakhra, but it is improbable that David would have placed the Altar on this spot. He would rather have chosen a place like the threshing-floor of Araunah, near to, but at a respectful distance from the Rock sanctified by the presence of the angel.

It must be remembered that David instructed Solomon as to the place where the Temple was to be built, and it can hardly be supposed that he told his son to remove the Altar that he had built on such a memorable occasion, and to use the bare Rock of the Sakhra as the place of burnt-offering. That the Altar existed at the

<sup>1</sup> See translation of *Beth Habbechereh* in *Q.S.*, 1885, p. 37.





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time of the dedication of the Temple is also quite clear from the account in 1 Kings viii, 22 : " And Solomon stood before the Altar " of the Lord in the presence of all the congregation of Israel, and " spread forth his hands towards heaven."

It is, however, quite likely that Solomon, while religiously preserving David's Altar, added dignity to it by encasing it in bronze. In doing this, he would have followed the example of Moses, when, after the rebellion of Korah, Dathan, and Abiram, he took the two hundred and fifty bronze censers of the insurgents and had them beaten out into plates to cover the altar.<sup>1</sup> After Solomon had done this, it is natural that, although the rough stones were still underneath, the altar should have been spoken of as a brazen altar, which was described as being 20 cubits (30 feet) long, 20 cubits broad, and 10 cubits in height.<sup>2</sup>

The result that one arrives at from the records is that the position of the Altar was never changed from the day when it was first built by David on the threshing floor of Araunah, until the final destruction of the Temple by Titus after the capture of Jerusalem. There is, however, no definite statement as to what this position was, though it is not likely it was on the Rock of the Sakhra, on account of the unsuitability of its surface for use as a threshing-floor.

I will now turn to a consideration of the question from a different point of view, that of the form of the hill upon which the Temple was built, as ascertained by modern exploration. To make the matter clear, a Plate is annexed showing sections across the hill, to illustrate the two different theories. These sections are drawn from west to east. The existing surface of the ground is shown, and also the rock surface as it is probably at the present time. The sections of the Temple and its Courts are taken from the description in the Mishna, and in Josephus.<sup>3</sup>

In Section No. 1, the Holy of Holies of the Temple is shown as being over the Rock of the Sakhra, and the Altar of burnt offering on the comparatively level surface of the hill to the eastward.

In Section No. 2, the Altar is shown upon the Sakhra, as proposed by Dr. Adam Smith, and the Temple to the westward of it. An examination of these sections will show, more clearly than any

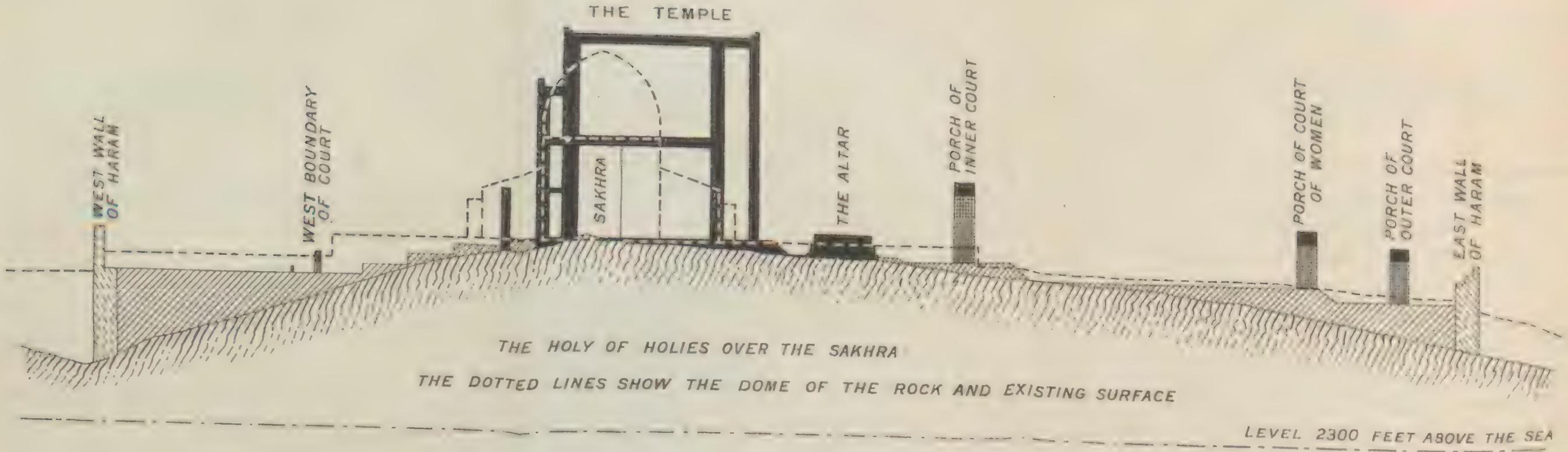
<sup>1</sup> See Numbers xvi, 35-40.

<sup>2</sup> See 2 Chron. iv, 1; Josephus' *Antiquities*, Book VIII, Chap. 3, vii.

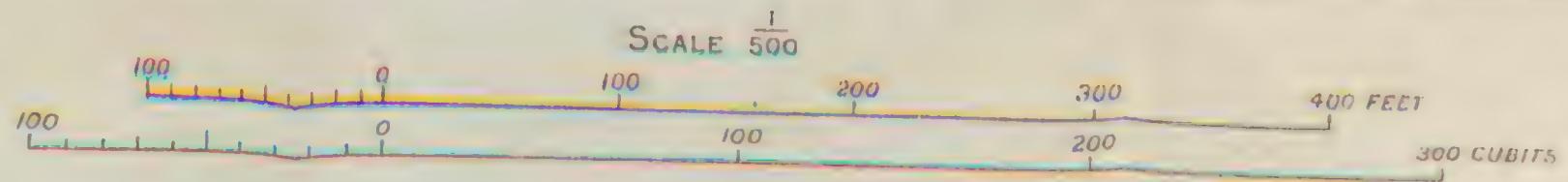
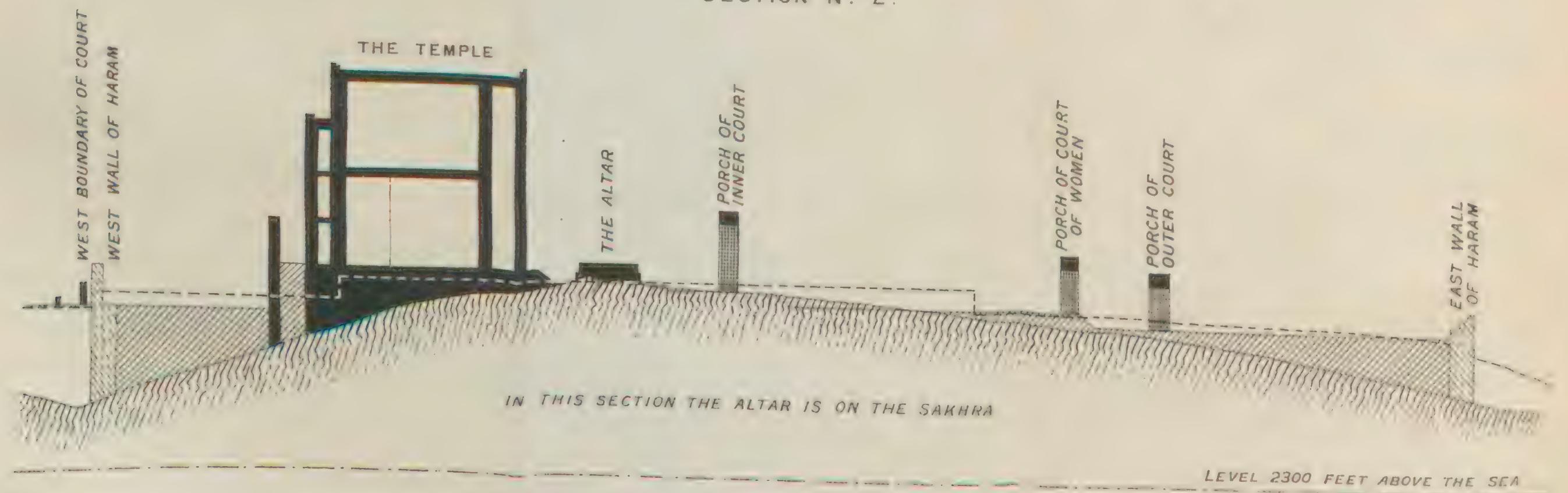
<sup>3</sup> See Q.S., 1896, p. 47.

SECTION N° 1.

PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND



SECTION N° 2.



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verbal description, how much more probable the first theory is than the second.

In the accounts of the construction of the Temple given by the Rabbis, they are unanimous in stating that the foundation was 6 cubits deep, built of solid masonry ; and that, as this foundation was 6 cubits deep at the front of the Temple, there were necessarily twelve steps, each of half a cubit, descending from the porch of the Temple to the Court in which the alter was placed.<sup>1</sup> Josephus also describes the twelve steps leading up from the Altar to the porch of the Temple. There can, I think, be no question that this foundation was absolutely solid, and was constructed so as to give a flat surface upon which to build the Temple upon the summit of the Hill. Section No. 1 shows how exactly such a construction would fit the rock surface of the Holy Mountain, assuming that the Holy of Holies was placed over the Sakhra.

But if, on the contrary, the Altar is placed on the Sakhra, then the Temple must be shifted to the westward, as shown on Section No. 2, and in place of a foundation six cubits in depth, it would have been necessary to construct an enormous mass of masonry, many feet in depth, for the heavy walls of the Temple to rest upon. Such an arrangement seems quite out of the question, and it is in complete contradiction to the statements of the Rabbinical writers, who certainly knew a great deal more about the Temple than we do. Dr. Smith has suggested in the passage quoted above, that the foundation of the Temple may have been on substructures, but there is no hint of this in any of the descriptions, and, considering the enormous weight of the walls of the Temple, it is most unlikely. In a note on the *Beth Habbechereh*, the late Dr. Chaplin gives the following quotation from the *Tufaerath Israel* on the subject<sup>2</sup> :—

“ It was the foundation, and was six cubits high, because the “ mountain rose and fell, and the Temple and the porch were built “ upon the top of the mountain upon the level ground, and the “ walls stood near the place where the mountain began to descend, “ and thus, in order to give to the house a firm foundation without “ tottering, they built a foundation of hewn stones around the above “ mentioned level ground six cubits high.”

<sup>1</sup> See “translation of *Beth Habbechereh* in Q.S., 1885, pp. 52, 185; also Translation of *Middoth* in Q.S., 1887, pp. 119, 124.

<sup>2</sup> See Q.S., 1885, p. 52.

## RECENT OPINIONS ON THE SITE OF CALVARY.

By Mr. A. W. CRAWLEY-BOEVEY, India Civil Service (Retired),  
Barrister-at-Law.

IT is worthy of note that no less than three important works on Jerusalem have recently been published by writers of great authority. Dr. G. Adam Smith's *Jerusalem*, in 2 volumes (Hodder), 1908, has been noticed with general admiration by all critics and reviewers. It is a monument of great learning and erudition, and is likely to take rank as a standard work. The late Dr. Merrill's *Ancient Jerusalem* (Revell), 1908, was reviewed by Dr. Smith in the Palestine Exploration Fund's *Quarterly Statement* of October, 1908, p. 332. Dr. Merrill was, for many years, U.S.A. Consul at Jerusalem, and is well-known as a learned and most diligent archaeologist. Col. C. R. Conder's *City of Jerusalem* (Murray), 1909, is the latest, and not the least interesting, of the three works. It conveniently summarises the views expressed by Col. Conder on Jerusalem exploration and antiquities, during the past thirty years. His *Tent Work in Palestine*, 2 vols. (1878), and *Handbook to the Bible* (Bentley), 1887, are well-known to all Palestine students. He was for many years employed, with the late Sir Charles Wilson, on the work of Palestine Exploration, and his contributions to the *Quarterly Statements* of the Palestine Exploration Fund are both numerous and learned. All three writers are entirely opposed to the traditional sites of Calvary, and the Tomb of Christ; but they differ markedly in the position which they take up regarding the alternatives proposed. Dr. Smith frankly suspends judgment about the disputed sites, considering the evidence as altogether inadequate to enable any certain opinion to be formed about any of them. He notes the fact that "the most sacred sites of all, Calvary and the Sepulchre, lie in that part of the city where the destruction by Titus was complete, and continuous excavation has been least possible." *Jerusalem* (II, 564). "Where Golgotha stood, and where the neighbouring

" Sakhra may perhaps have been excavated for the reason assigned  
" in the Mishna for the existence of the other vaults, namely, to  
" insure the purity of the surface on which the Ark stood.

" Moslem tradition still points to the Sakhra as the site of the  
" Temple, and as the foundation of the world; and the same  
" tradition existed in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.  
" Foucher of Chartres (about 1100 A.D.) says that the Ark was, in  
" his time, supposed to be hidden in the Sacred Rock; while  
" Jacques de Vitry (1220 A.D.) speaks of it as the place where the  
" angel appeared to David. The Lapis Pertusus, or 'pierced stone,'  
" which the Jews used to anoint in the fourth century, is also  
" presumably the present Sakhra, pierced as it is by a vertical shaft.

" Araunah's threshing floor must have been a level area of some  
" size, situated in a position where even the lightest breezes of  
" summer might be felt; for such is the situation now chosen for a  
" threshing floor in Palestine. The rock levels show a flat area,  
" immediately around the Sakhra, suitable for such a purpose, while  
" to the south and north the ridge is narrow and its slopes steeper."

Dr. Chaplin, who gave much attention to the subject when living in Jerusalem, and who was thoroughly well acquainted with the Mishna, was of the same opinion, and regarded it as a settled point that the Rock under the existing Dome of the Rock marks the site of the Holy of Holies.<sup>1</sup>

Having regard to the fact that the information to be derived from ancient writers and from tradition, and the knowledge of the site, based on modern exploration, all point to the conclusion that it is most probable that the Holy of Holies stood over the Rock of the Sakhra, it is a little difficult to understand how the idea originated that this was the site of the Altar of burnt offering; but however it may have started, it is certainly modern, and the arguments in its favour have little strength.

The final conclusions on the subject which I would venture to suggest are as follows:—

1. The Holy of Holies of the Temple was built over the Sakhra.
2. The Altar of Burnt Offering always occupied one position after its first erection by King David; and this position was on the summit of Mount Moriah, the centre of the Altar being nearly due east of, and about 180 feet distant from the Sakhra.

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garden lay in which he was buried, we do not know, because, for reasons already explained, we cannot tell how the second wall, at this time the outer wall on the north, exactly ran." (II, 576.)

The Crucifixion took place, he thought, "in the northern suburb." (II, 577.) Beyond these general statements he has not thought it prudent to go.

Dr. Merrill's learned work will chiefly appeal to professional archaeologists. His description of the second wall, in Chaps. XXIV and XXV, illustrated by numerous maps, will naturally be compared with those of Dr. Smith and the late Sir Charles Wilson. Dr. Merrill considers, in opposition to those authorities, that the course of this wall is substantially established. He entertains no doubt that the site of the traditional tomb and Calvary was inside this much debated wall. But many will consider it a pure waste of time to demonstrate the course and general direction of this wall, merely in order to discredit the claims of the traditional site of Calvary.

Defenders of tradition, who regard belief in the "holy places" as matter of faith, are little likely to be moved by any such appeal to reason and ordinary evidence. The more surely it is proved that Helena's site was within the second wall, the more tenaciously are its defenders likely to cling to the orthodox view, because it involves a greater exercise of faith. *Certum est quia impossibile*. (Tertullian.)

Dr. Merrill has for many years supported the view that the Crucifixion took place on the hill above Jeremiah's Grotto, commonly known as the Skull Hill.

Col. Conder has been, since 1878, a warm supporter of this same view of Calvary. He was not the original discoverer of this site, which has attracted much attention since 1842, when the German writer, Otto Thenius, drew attention to it; but Col. Conder, more than thirty years later, was the first to point out its importance as the traditional Jewish place of stoning, or place of public execution, and the probable scene of the martyrdom of St. Stephen. The site is one which appeals directly to the eye, and possesses, in this fact, a natural advantage. It was close to the great road which led from the north to Jerusalem. Edersheim describes it as "a weird, dreary place, two or three minutes aside from the high road, with a high, rounded, skull like, rocky plateau, and a sudden depression or hollow beneath, as if the jaws of that skull had opened." *Life and Times of Jesus the Messiah*, II, 583 (Longmans), 1883.

Col. Conder's views on the subject of this site have been fully discussed in the pages of the Palestine Exploration Fund's *Quarterly Statements*, and in Sir W. Besant's *Thirty Years' Work in the Holy Land*, published on behalf of the Palestine Exploration Fund. They are adopted in the *International Teachers' Bible*, and have obtained thereby very great currency, both in England and America.

While Dr. Smith frankly holds his judgment in suspense regarding the traditional "holy places," he has simply ignored all the suggested alternatives. This attitude is consistent and entirely intelligible. No one doubts that the evidence on the subject is altogether incomplete, and no one has made this fact more clear than the late Sir Charles Wilson, in *Golgotha and the Holy Sepulchre* (1906). That eminent Palestine scholar was for many years regarded as one of the principal champions of the traditional sites. His masterly work shows clearly where his real sympathy lies. He has said all that was possible to encourage supporters of these "holy places," and he has criticized the alternative sites as practically unworthy of serious consideration. Those who have followed the arguments on both sides, will readily perceive that Sir Charles Wilson and Col. Conder (both Royal Engineers of great distinction) are, in fact, the real protagonists of the rival sites. The former, while unwilling to abandon all belief in the time-honoured sites, is evidently doubtful about the evidence. He is, at the same time, frankly sceptical regarding all the modern speculations on the subject, and is evidently inclined to think that the real sites have been lost, and are beyond the reach of human knowledge. Col. Conder represents the more sanguine view, that scientific research has not spoken its last word, and that further light is possible on the subject. He believes that Helena's site within the walls is manifestly false, and that the real Calvary must be sought outside the walls at the traditional Place of Stoning, near the so-called Grotto of Jeremiah. The arguments for this view have appealed to many minds. They are supported by a remarkable consensus of learned evidence.

The late Sir Charles Wilson's views would, perhaps, carry more weight if he had not ignored one important branch of literary evidence, and if he had shown more appreciation of the weight of testimony opposed to his own views. He has omitted all notice of the maps and descriptions of Jerusalem by geographers and well-known writers, such as Christian van Adrichem (1584) and Thomas Fuller (1662). Their maps are founded on the earlier maps of

Marino Sanuto, and other geographers named in Tobler's *Bibliographia Geographica Palestina*, Leipsie (1867). These ancient maps exhibit the site of Calvary, and the tomb outside the walls northwest of Jerusalem, approximately in the same position as that suggested by Otto Thenius in 1842, and accepted by Col. Conder. These maps may be of little value, but they show, at any rate, that there has long been more than one view regarding the site of Calvary, and that the traditional site was by no means unchallenged.

Those who reject the traditional site of Calvary will find abundant reasons, under the circumstances, to keep an open mind on the subject, and to use their own judgment in a matter on which the greatest experts differ in opinion. The late Sir Charles Wilson, and those who follow him, take one view. Col. Conder, and no less than thirty well-known scholars and writers take another. The Christian public, who are the final court of appeal, must judge between them; and now that Jerusalem is so readily accessible, and visited every year by hundreds of educated travellers, they are no longer at the mercy of experts, however eminent, or bound to take their opinions on trust. Col. Conder's view is supported by many eminent Palestine scholars, including, amongst others, Tristram, Chaplin, Merrill, Hanauer, Edersheim, and Laurence Oliphant. It may be right or wrong, but it cannot hastily be dismissed as unworthy of serious consideration, or treated with contempt as one of the mystical fancies of the late General Gordon. That remarkable man has undoubtedly done much to make the new sites famous, but they were not discovered by him, but by the experts above named, who were all distinguished members of the Palestine Exploration Fund.

GLEANINGS FROM THE MINUTE-BOOKS OF THE  
JERUSALEM LITERARY SOCIETY.

By PROF. R. A. STEWART MACALISTER, M.A., F.S.A.

(Continued from *Q.S.*, October, 1909, p. 265.)

XIV.

At the meeting of 22nd February, 1850, R. SANDFORD, Esq., read a Paper called "Arab Sketches."

It would be much easier to describe the way in which the Arabs practice medicine and surgery than to convey to you their real views of those sciences. They are not much troubled with theory, and therefore all the information we can get from them must be by carefully observing the way in which they manage their patients . . . .

A native Esculapius, for every disease which flesh is heir to, requires three things—a lancet, an iron bar, and *milk Ingli* [purgative salts]. First of all, bleed the patient even if he be dying. When you want to relieve pain in the stomach apply the red hot iron over it in different directions—a very nice way of using this instrument is to make a hole first, and then insert it. (Paralysis may come on . . . and then death, as I have seen; but who can find any fault with that mode of treatment which we inherit from our fathers?) . . . .

[A European doctor's native patient will tell him] that his wife had asked him what one pill twice a day was to do—so that he had taken all at once, and that instead of being twenty times better he felt almost dead. Nothing can get over the Arab argument "if one would benefit me, surely twenty would do so in the same proportion . . . ."

In hopeless cases they wish to be deceived. The wife of a patient of mine was once much vexed when I hinted at the possibility of dissolution . . . .

Such being a more or less common state of things . . . . can it be wondered at if some prefer a different plan, which to say the least, is much more safe for the afflicted party. For instance, how much better to allow a sheikh from the Mosque of Omar to place a book on your head, than to have every drop of blood drained out of your veins. And then, instead of using red-hot iron to your only son who is troubled with a cough, let him wear one of the vertebrae of a young camel round his neck . . . .

Many diseases [they believe] are quite uninfluenced by medicine . . . . For instance, when a child won't get well, or won't die . . . it all comes from the spirits which have possessed it. You may give it salts, burn, and bleed it, but all are useless. Nothing short of freeing it of evil demons will do it any good, and the way is . . . as follows: "Take the child as soon as you hear . . . the signal for morning prayer, to an open grave, where bones of human beings have been placed, put it in and run away; and when the devotions are over, come back and receive your child freed from its spiritual tormentors" . . . .

These hasty remarks are founded on facts, and more proofs could be brought, if any were needed, to illustrate [the low standard of medical knowledge among the people of this land] . . .

## XV.

At the same meeting, Mr. FINN read a Paper on "An Embellished Sepulchre near Saida."

. . . While passing a few days in a friend's country lodge . . . near Saida . . . in one of our strolls on the hill we crawled into a sepulchral grotto, the chamber and recesses of which are stuccoed over, and then embellished with paintings of trees, birds, and flowers. There was one principal chamber, in each side of which (like the sepulchres near Jerusalem) three smaller recesses are pierced, and two in front of the entrance. These two have others proceeding further out of them. There are no [arcosolia] . . . . Stucco [has been] employed only . . . to the right and left of the principal chamber. The rock is not of firm close texture, therefore in order to get a surface tolerably level for receiving the stucco an artificial evenness had to be made with stone, broken small. The embellishment may not rank in the first class of painting, yet they exhibit considerable freedom of design in the attitudes of birds flying or perched: these are all of one sort, red and yellow, with

long tails. The trees are palm, or olive. There are also iris flowers and festoons composed of olive and vine leaves alternated, and the leaves diversified occasionally with tints of autumnal brown . . . .

## XVI.

At the same meeting, E. T. ROGERS, Esq., read a Paper called "Native Charms and Cures for Illness."

An Egyptian kawass last summer was affected with violent headaches: he therefore went to or sent for his sheikh to know what was to be done. The sheikh came and said that as a cure for his headache a passage from the Koran must be read over him. The patient sat down on a stone, and the sheikh, taking his cap off, read a paper containing an extract from the Koran; then taking hold of the patient's ears in each hand, gently moved his head from right to left and from back to front, and continuing the same faster and more roughly by degrees. The head of the unfortunate sufferer was in some danger of being wrung from his shoulders. This operation being concluded the kawass rose apparently almost stupefied; his head had been violently shaken for about a quarter of an hour, but still he said he was better, and thought that he should now become quite well.

Another instance . . . occurred in Safed to my kawass there. He also had a violent headache and a very hoarse cough, and after refusing medicine which I offered to him he applied to a sheikh. The sheikh wrote on a paper an extract from the Koran, then tacking it in a piece of calico sewed it inside the patient's cap, saying that it would cure his headache in a few days. And as a cure for his cough the sheikh gave him another passage from the Koran on a paper which was cut into narrow strips, one of which the sick man was to put into a cup, and placing the same outside the house in some position that the nightly dew or rain might fall into it, there to drink off this potion as soon as the dawn appeared. This he continued for seven or eight mornings and then believed himself perfectly well.

## XVII.

At the meeting of 22nd March, 1850, E. T. ROGERS, Esq., read a Paper entitled "Manufactures and Commerce of Safed."

1. *Pipe-bowl Manufacture.*—In the principal bazaar of Safed, called Súk el-Jámi'a, on any fine market-day there may be seen seated on a

bench in front of some unoccupied shop or stall, a Muslim of middle age wearing a green turban . . . a red jacket (the sleeves turned up to his elbows) and a long dark leather apron. He is seated in thorough Arab fashion : and on his lap is a board covered with little dabs of pale brown clay rolled up into equal sizes, perhaps rather larger than walnuts. By his side he has two cans, one containing water, the other oil. He first takes a piece of wood [which is] the ground-work or mould, on which to build the pipe-bowl. After oiling this mould he takes one of the lumps of clay, and pressing it over the head of the mould with his fingers as nearly to the required form as possible, he next uses a modelling tool resembling in size a common paper-knife. With this he shapes the clay to the form of a pipe-bowl, occasionally wetting the tool that it may work the more freely. He then proceeds to remove the clay from the mould, which is easily effected, the mould having been previously oiled.

The upper part of the bowl, thus far complete, it is now only necessary to make the stem, which is done in a similar manner to that above described, on a mould of the proper form. This done, they are joined by pressing one against the other, and while in this wet state any figures which the imagination can suggest may be drawn upon them. After being baked in an oven they are sold at a cheap rate . . . Great numbers of these bowls are annually sent to Damascus.

2. *Oil.*—In Safed the olive oil is superior to that found in most parts of Palestine. The tree requires great cold and wet in the winter season, and great heat in the summer : such is exactly the climate of Safed. The produce of oil is therefore very great, many of the hills in the neighbourhood being almost covered with olive-groves, but it might be greater if some European ingenuity were applied to the extraction of it from the fruit. I have heard a merchant in this country remark that the refuse thrown away by the natives, after having expressed as much oil as they could with their poor machinery, would be valuable to English manufacturers who could yet obtain from it a considerable quantity of oil.

Olive oil is also carried in great quantities to Damascus. In Safed it is generally sold at about three or four piastres per *roll*.

3. *Tobacco.*—Near Safed are two or three villages (Jish, etc.), which have long been celebrated for almost the best tobacco in Palestine. Great quantities of this article also are sent to Damascus, as well as to many parts of Palestine. Damascus, however, is the

principal place with which Safed carries on any commerce. *Tumbak*, a species of tobacco only used in the *narghib* [or water-pipe] and generally brought from Persia, has been tried in Jish, but hitherto unsuccessfully. Ordinary tobacco is sold in Safed at six to eight piastres per *rotl*.

These articles—pipe-bowls, oil, and tobacco—are conveyed on mules and donkeys to their destinations in Damascus, and the same animals return to Safed generally laden with silk stuffs . . . . and other saleable cloths; also fruits of every description . . . . sweetmeats . . . and even some sugar, though the latter is more frequently brought by the Safed Jews from Beirut.

### XVIII.

At the meeting of 26th April, 1850, R. SANDFORD, Esq., read a Paper, entitled “Antiquities of Custom.”

[The Paper consisted of a few parallels between Biblical phrases and incidents, and some noted in modern Palestine. Most of these are now common-places, but this may be quoted—]

About two years ago a poor man was executed in the open street in Jerusalem. He was beheaded, and the people afterwards walked up to the body and dipped their feet in the blood. I have since found that it is customary for the avenger of blood when he has slain his victim to dip his feet in the blood of the slaughtered man. [Compare] “That thy foot may be dipped in the blood of thine enemies”—Psalm lxviii, 23 . . . .

“It is not the custom in our country to give the younger before the elder,” said an Arab friend of mine to an applicant for the hand of one of his daughters. So said Laban in Patriarchal times . . . .

[The author of the paper also described a scene he had witnessed, illustrative of Exodus xxii, 26. A creditor had taken a debtor’s outer cloak as pledge, and refused to return it, notwithstanding the appeals of the debtor, and afterwards of his wife, who vainly tried to move the creditor to mercy on account of the cold of the night.]

[End of Vol. I of the Minute-books.]

(*To be continued.*)

## THE HANDWRITING OF THE GEZER TABLET.

By Mr. E. J. PILCHER.

THE Alphabet of the Ancient Hebrews is known to us chiefly from a number of seal-stones, specimens of which have been illustrated in the *Quarterly Statement* from time to time. The letters upon these seal stones vary appreciably in form, and we must either assume that several styles of writing were in use simultaneously, or that the alphabet was employed over a considerable period, and that in the course of its life it gradually became modified. Neither of these theories is capable of absolute proof; but the latter is the more probable, because we find some signets agreeing in the form of their letters with the characters upon the oldest known North Semitic inscriptions, while other signets have letters that are very similar in shape to those found upon the Jewish coinage, and even recalling peculiarities of the modern Samaritan script. The question arises, therefore, as to how far this period of use and modification extends. It does not appear that we can carry these engraved gems further back than the time of the Assyrian deportations, for some of the most ancient of them have been found, not in Palestine, but in Mesopotamia. Thus the seal of Shemaiah ben Azariah, one of the most archaic, was procured in Aleppo by M. Waddington, and it is tempting to imagine that it originally belonged to some Israelite, carried away from his native land upon the capture of Samaria by Sargon in B.C. 722. The style, the material, and the epigraphy, all agree very well with that epoch. But when we go to the other end of the scale, and seek to know when this particular class of signets ceased to be used, we have no tangible evidence to guide us. We are aware that somewhere near the beginning of the Christian era the Aramean, or "Square," alphabet became the official script of the Jews; but there are practically no seal-stones bearing Hebrew names engraved in any ancient form of the Square character. Our earliest knowledge of it comes from epitaphs and ossuaries. It is hardly to be supposed that the living employed seals with old Hebrew inscriptions at the same time that the dead

were being commemorated in Square letters; but it is remarkable that there should apparently be no overlapping of the two styles of writing. The art of the signets does not help us very much, for when they present anything beyond the mere names of the owners the designs are usually in that nondescript style familiar to us from Phoenician remains. Some of the devices, however, are manifestly Persian, and this would carry us well into the period of the Persian domination, for it would take time for a Persian style to arise, and still longer to familiarize it to the subject nations. There is one extant gem, engraved with the name of Hananiah ben Azariah, surrounded by what M. Clermont-Ganneau describes as "une grande couronne ovale de têtes de pavots ou de grenades." These "têtes" look to me to be more like the lily flowers upon the Maccabean shekels. The lettering of the gem is very late, and there may be a connection; but as the date and epigraphy of these shekels are still in dispute, we cannot hope for any acceptable chronology in that direction.

If we are uncertain of the period over which the use of these engraved gems extends, we are still more uncertain about the stages by which the early style of the Old Hebrew alphabet developed into the later style. If we knew approximately when each of the letters became affected by the change, we might be able to arrange our series of Hebrew signets in something approaching chronological order, but at present that is quite beyond our powers.

There is also to be considered the question of fluctuations. It would be quite erroneous to suppose that the change would always be in the one direction. Phoenician epigraphy has the advantage of a series of dated monuments, and we can observe its fluctuations. For example, the letter **שׁ** upon the earliest coinage of the Phoenician coast has the form . In the reign of Artaxerxes II it becomes , while, under the Seleucids, it reverts to the early form again. Therefore, the occasional reappearance of ancient outlines, or even a complete reversion to an earlier type, is only what is to be expected.

Still another difficulty is to be found in the old Hebrew seals themselves. These are often so carelessly executed that it is almost impossible to tell the exact form intended by the engraver. Thus upon Brit. Mus. 1046 **עֲבָדָלָא(ב) בְּנֵ שְׁבִנָת** at first sight we would appear to have three different forms of **שׁ**, Mr. S. A. Cook's *a*, *b*, and *c*, upon the same object. Through the courtesy of

Dr. Budge, however, the writer has recently had an opportunity of examining the gem itself, and it is his opinion that the engraver intended  in each case. The different appearance of the letters is owing to their having been roughly shaped out by a lapidary's wheel, and, through carelessness or unskilfulness, the cuts of the wheel do not always come in the right place.

This same maladroitness may tend to explain some of the apparent variations in the shape of the noted by Mr. Stanley Cook (*Quarterly Statement*, 1909, p. 297). In the Siloam Inscription, and also upon the Maccabean shekels, we have the form . This cannot be considered a late refinement, for it can be traced back to the Nineveh weights in the eighth century. I may be wrong, but it appears to me to have been the standard old Hebrew form of the letter. It is, however, a very awkward one, and it is not surprising that it should be frequently blundered or slurred, although on some of the more carefully executed seals, the correct form is quite recognizable. It is this letter, the *rau*, which offers the greatest problem in the study of the Gezer text.

But before discussing the individual letters of the Gezer inscription, it may be well to offer a few remarks upon the tablet itself. On first seeing the photograph in *Quarterly Statement*, 1909, p. 28, I suggested that it was a fragment of a larger stone. One of the chief reasons for this view was the stroke at the beginning of the third line, which looked like a dividing mark; in which case, of course, it would have been quite out of place at the commencement of a line. Mr. Macalister, however (*Quarterly Statement*, 1909, p. 89), explains this as due to a slip of the graver, caused by a hole in the surface of the tablet. Furthermore, the cast distinctly shows  at the end of l. 1, as also does Prof. Vincent's photograph of the stone (*Rer. Biblique*, 1909, p. 266). Therefore the first letter of l. 2 must be , as Dr. Lidzbarski contended, and not , as it superficially appears.

It may have been observed, though it does not seem to have been specifically mentioned, that although the first five lines are kept close to one another, l. 6 is much below l. 5, with the obvious intention of avoiding the gash on the right-hand edge of the stone; while the first two characters of l. 7 are cramped in order to accommodate them to the restricted space. This demonstrates that the tablet had its present shape and defects at the time the inscription

was made, and the writer was compelled to arrange his letters accordingly, so that we have not to do with a permanent record, but with a temporary writing exercise scratched upon a waste piece of limestone.

At the same time it can hardly be the work of a mere learner. The strokes are drawn steadily and firmly, without the slightest hesitation or trembling of hand. Awkward outlines, such as **ו**, **ד**, and **פ**, are managed with a fair amount of success, considering the nature of the material; and there is a certain grace in the forms of the letters. All this would indicate the skilful hand of the professional scribe. But the workmanship is undeniably careless. No two of the letters are exactly alike, and none of the lines of writing are straight. These same faults are found in hasty writing of the present day; but little attention is paid to them, because we know the general standard type of each character intended by the writer. In the present case, however, in several instances we do not know the standard form which was in the writer's mind, and that is the source of our difficulties.

Where the same letter appears more than once, we may be justified in taking the mean of the different outlines as being the form intended. Thus the **ג**, in l. 3, is intermediate in shape between the same character in ll. 4 and 5, and therefore it is probably the norm, or pattern, which the scribe had in view.

By the same rule, the **ת**, in l. 4, would be the normal form. The superposed **ת**, in l. 5, however, is laid upon its side. It is true that the same outline is found upon some of the Hasmonean coins, but in the present case the scribe has employed the ordinary upright form throughout the text, and if he had desired merely to cancel the couple of letters beneath, he might just as well have written the superposed letter in the broad shape of the two following lines. We must therefore conclude that the different appearance of this **ת** is due to its having been inscribed while the tablet was held on its side; that is to say, the superposed letter was written at the same time and in the same direction as the letters **רְבָע**, in the left hand corner.

The form of the **ת**, in l. 4, is a perfectly good one, and would be valid for any known period in the history of the Old Hebrew alphabet down to the Samaritan. But it is most important to note that the Gezer scribe had two distinct ways of writing it. One method was with five strokes, *i.e.*, two uprights and three crossbars,

as in l. 4; while the other method was with three strokes, i.e., two right angles and one crossbar, as in l. 7. Furthermore, we occasionally find a curve where a straight stroke was intended, especially in **נ**, of l. 3, where the curves are particularly noticeable. All these details may appear trivial, but they are mentioned here because they may assist us to understand the **נ**, which is the real crux of the inscription.

On the first sight of the Gezer Tablet it was startling to observe that it seemed to present totally different types for the one letter **נ**. For my own part I could not believe that if the fourth character of l. 1 was a fairly good Old Hebrew **נ**, the sixth character of l. 2 was the same letter, and the seventh character of l. 5 also. The lettering of ancient inscriptions often presents slight variations, but nothing to this extent. However, a careful examination of the cast of the tablet, and a study of the peculiarities of the handwriting, made the difficulties appear rather less. We must remember that the scribe was a somewhat hasty and summary writer. He had more than one method of tracing the same outline, and his graver sometimes diverged into curves. Bearing these considerations well in mind, we will remark that the first **נ** in l. 1 has the shape  the same outline, in fact, as that upon the Socoh pottery stamps (*Quarterly Statement*, 1899, p. 184). In this instance, the Gezer scribe has traced the letter much as we should do, first drawing  , and then adding the dash on the right hand. But we must not forget that while we write from left to right, he wrote from right to left. Therefore it was far more natural for him to trace the right hand half of the letter first  , and then add the left-hand dash. This would result in the V-shaped **נ** noted by Mr. Cook upon some of the gems (*Quarterly Statement*, 1909, p. 297). Now, if the reader will take a pencil, and try to draw  rapidly a few times, he will find it is by no means easy to do so. He will probably reproduce all the strange outlines of the Gezer Tablet, and some additional ones of his own.

The cast of the tablet shows that the Gezer scribe in every case except the first began to inscribe the **נ** by tracing the right half, and then he added the dash upon the left. His most successful effort is in l. 5, but here the imperceptible swerve of the stylus caused the stroke to appear as  , and this was completed by

a straight dash struck in diagonally on the left. The **ג**, between **נ** and **ג**, at end of l. 1, is almost of the same character. In the **ג**, of line 2, the left-hand dash is too upright, and therefore the horns of the letter are not sufficiently wide apart. The photograph seems to show the left-hand stroke as the continuous one, but this is an optical delusion, for the cast shows clearly that it was the right-hand one which was made first. The main stroke of the **ג**, in l. 6, is almost straight, and therefore the scribe instinctively modified the left-hand dash in compensation. But here, again, the difference between that and the other examples is not as great as it appears in the photograph.

I trust the above description and criticism of this important character have been made sufficiently clear. If they be accepted there is no occasion to suppose that the writer of the Gezer Tablet had any knowledge of a variety of forms which might be given to this letter. He probably used, or intended to use, the one current in his day and locality, and, if he did not reproduce the standard type with absolute fidelity, the same thing applies to most of the other letters in his exercise.

As regards the other characters, the standard type is sufficiently obvious. The strange appearance of the **ד**, in l. 5, is probably accidental. The **ד** is an exaggeration of the Zenjerli type, being sloped downwards too much to the left. The example in l. 6 has an extra stroke in the head, but this is probably one of the idiosyncracies of the scribe. The **ד**, between ll. 4 and 5, does not appear to possess this extra addition, but one cannot be sure about it. At the end of l. 4 there seem to me to be traces of a **ת**, and in this Prof. Vincent agrees. The **ת** beneath may possibly be a correction of the writer for a **ת** originally written.

It is a matter for satisfaction that in this short and tautological inscription there should be eighteen of the letters of the Old Hebrew alphabet. Of the four missing ones **ב** and **ר** are not of much palaeographic importance, **ב** usually follows the outline of **ד**, and **ר** is so very rare that it can only be regarded as a curiosity.

But there still remains the question of the place of the Gezer Tablet in the history of the development of the old Hebrew alphabet. Mr. Cook has recalled that some years ago I discussed the date of the Siloam Inscription in two essays (*P.S.B.I.*, 1897, pp. 165 ff.; 1898, pp. 213 ff.), and suggested that the monument really belonged to the time of Herod, relying chiefly upon certain reliefs discovered

in the foundations of the Temple of Jerusalem. It must be confessed that later discoveries have not supported this particular date, for the gems and pottery stamps which have since been unearthed have not been found associated with Greek or Roman remains, as would be required by the Herodian theory. But my essays also discussed the genealogy of the Old Hebrew alphabet, and endeavoured to demonstrate that the characters of the Siloam text were of an extremely late type, finding their chief analogies upon the Jewish coins and the earliest Samaritan inscriptions. These palaeographic arguments still seem to me to be valid, and I am naturally gratified to find that they also appeal to Mr. Cook. The differences between the characters upon the Siloam Inscription and those of the North Semitic inscriptions of the eighth century are so great that it seems necessary to assume that the Siloam text is separated from the eighth century by a considerable period of time. What that period of time may have been is a question still open for discussion. We have seen above that the scraps of writing upon the Old Hebrew signets cannot be positively dated, and the matter is still further complicated by doubts as to the exact place of the silver shekels in Jewish chronology. My own opinion still is that they date from the great rebellion of A.D. 66, but most numismatists seem agreed in assigning them to Simon Maccabeus about B.C. 140. Even then there is plenty of time for the development of the peculiarities of the Siloam alphabet, though we have still to determine the successive stages by which that development took place.

The Gezer text seems to belong to one of the earliest of these stages. As Mr. Cook has pointed out, it differs very little from the type of alphabet which was common to all the North Semitic nations between B.C. 850 and B.C. 700. If we neglect minor details, which may only be due to the handwriting of this particular scribe, the differences limit themselves to the **ג** and the **ז**. It would not be safe to lay too much stress upon the **ג**, for that has pretensions to antiquity; at any rate it was in use at Nineveh in the seventh and eighth centuries. But the **ז** differs appreciably from the standard North Semitic type, and has taken the step which leads on by successive deformations to the peculiar character found upon the **נְצָבָה** weights, the Siloam Inscription, and the Maccabean shekels. Therefore the palaeographer is now informed for the first time that it was the **ז** which headed the evolution of the Old Hebrew alphabet, and

it is to be hoped that future discoveries will reveal to us the order of the other changes, such as the fashion of bending the tails of the characters round to the left, and the addition of tags as essential parts of the letter. Neither of these refinements is foreshadowed in the Gezer writing; although, as Mr. Cook has noted, the scribe was inclined to tilt the tail of the *γαλ* sometimes up and sometimes down.

It being established that the text registers for us the first step in the alphabetic change, it would still be of interest to know the period when that step was made. For this we must rely upon the circumstances of its discovery, and we can only note that the carefully observed position of the relic in the excavations, and the associated remains, indicate the sixth century B.C. as the approximate date of the tablet.

Independently of its palaeographic value the Gezer text is a welcome addition to our growing knowledge of the social life of the ancient Hebrews. The climate and soil of Palestine render it very unlikely that we shall ever recover any ancient specimen of current writing upon parchment or papyrus; but the Gezer Tablet is to all intents and purposes a manuscript, for it has all the characteristics of actual handwriting. The fingers of the scribe were probably more familiar with the reed pen than with the stylus, and he has scratched upon this piece of limestone a valuable example of the fugitive, everyday, writing of his time and people.

### GREEK INSCRIPTIONS FROM DAMASCUS.

By the Rev. J. E. HANAUER, M.A., with Notes by the  
Rev. H. S. CRONIN, M.A.

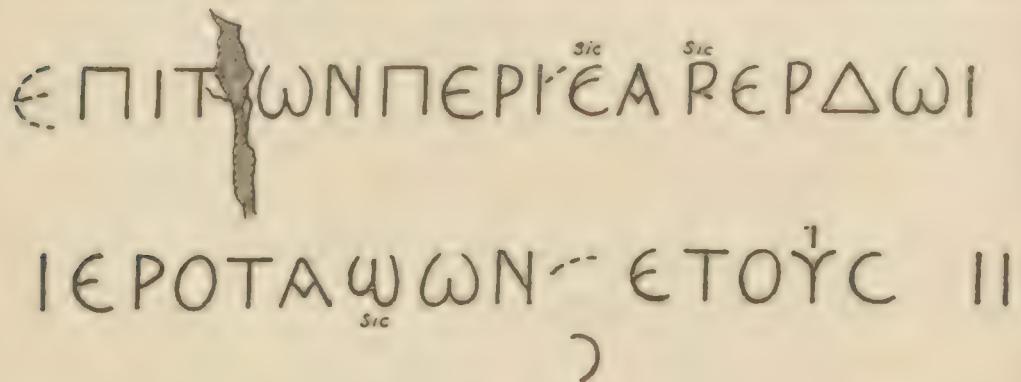
1. In a letter from Damascus, dated March 2nd, the Rev. J. E. Hanauer writes:

"Whilst making some alterations in the lower part of a house built on the northern side of the great eastern gateway in the ancient outer enclosure of the former Temple, where now stands the great Mosque, the northern end of the architrave and lintel over the small side gate has been partly exposed. It bears two inscriptions, of which, however, only the ends can be seen. One is

in Greek letters, the other, lower down, in interlaced ornamental Arabic letters. I enclose a copy, taken by candle-light, of the former. The position is not favourable, either for a squeeze or a photograph. I cannot tell if the inscription is much longer. The rest of it is, and will probably remain, covered up. Only the north end, and top of the north door-post can be seen. It is said that there is ancient writing in the upper part of the house, but, as yet, I have failed to get leave to look at it. A shaft, or well, has been sunk alongside the door-post, and the owner of the house tells me that the threshold of the gate was found at a depth of twenty *dras*. This is, of course, a vague statement, and I do not think that any reliable measurement was taken. The *dras* is 27 inches."

Writing on the following day, Mr. Hanauer reports :

"I wrote, yesterday, and sent a copy of a Greek inscription recently



found under the plaster on the stones above the side gateway, described by Mr. Dickie, on pages 274 and 275 of the *Quarterly Statement* for 1897.<sup>1</sup> He saw the Arabic inscription. I visited the place again this morning, and now send a corrected copy of the Greek letters, some of which are of a very curious shape, such as elsewhere, on loose slabs of stone, etc., would lead one to suspect a forgery. Here, however, there does not seem to be anything that would induce anyone to forge an inscription."

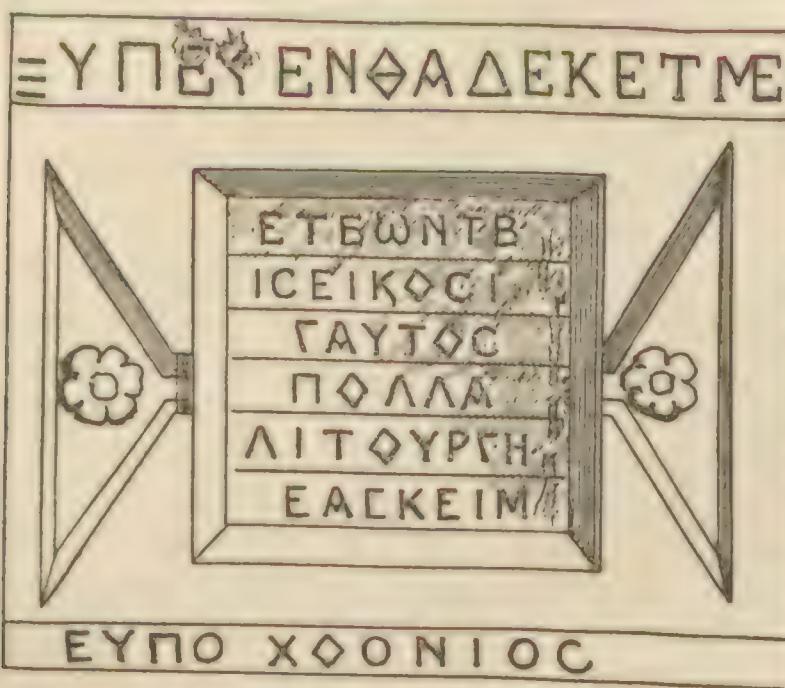
Subsequently (April 30th), Mr. Hanauer wrote that the inscription has again been covered up with masonry, "and will therefore, in all probability, not be visible again during this generation, at any rate . . . I feel certain that a corresponding inscription must exist on the little gate on the other side of the great central one,

<sup>1</sup> The inscription is on a stone just above the architrave, and between it and the sill of the niche.

the jambs only of which are extant. The side gate to which I refer seems to be still entire. Though buried, part of the architrave covered with plaster and whitewash peeps through the gloom of a butcher's shop on the side of the street opposite to that on which I found the inscription."

(For the text of the inscription, see below.)

2. A basalt slab with a funereal inscription found in the course of alterations in a Moslem house in the suburb of el-Akeybeh.



(For the text, see below.)

3. A Greek inscription found, after the fire of 1893, over the left-hand doorway of the great triple gateway in the south wall of the great Mosque of Damascus. This doorway is represented in *Quarterly Statement*, October, 1897, Plate II, facing p. 272 (the extreme left-hand corner). The inscription stands close to the famous one "Thy kingdom, O Christ, etc," and consists of a quotation from Psalm lxxxix, 7. "The probability is that every single gate-way had some monumental writing over it. We must, however, wait patiently till favourable opportunities enable us to see those which still remain."

Drawings of the first and second inscriptions, made by Mr. Hanauer, were sent to the Rev. H. S. Cronin, Dean of Trinity Hall, Cambridge, who has kindly sent the following remarks:—

*"Inscription I.—ἐπὶ τῷ περὶ (τὸν ἔτην) | ιεροταμῶν ἵστος* i.e., 'during the temple stewardship of A. B. and his colleagues, in the eighth year.' For the general form of the inscription compare C.I.G., 4513 (*ἐπὶ ιεροταμῶν τῷ περὶ* π[ερὶ] Ἀρτ[ώ]ριον), and 4516 (*ἐπὶ τῷ περὶ Μ... ιεροταμῶν* [ν]), both of which suggest that the letters following *περὶ* are the letters of a proper name in the accusative, but what name I cannot say. Probably it is Semitic. *Ιερο]*ταμῶν occurs also in C.I.G., 4512, which, with 4513 and 4516, comes from Damascus. The two strokes after *ἵστος* are much more probably part of **H**—or part of **I<sub>2</sub>B<sub>2</sub>**—than the numeral two.

*"Inscription II.—. . . . . ] ἐνθαῦτε κεῖμε | ἐτέων τ[ρί] - | ιεικοστι | Γαῦτος | Πόλλα λιτουργή | [σ]ας κεῖμι | εἰποχθόνιος.*

"Here I, Gautos, lie at the age of sixty years having done much service I lie beneath the sod."

"This is an elegiac couplet of sorts, though neither the grammar nor the metre is above criticism. The first five letters are doubtful; they may be (1) an interjection, (2) Another name of Γαῦτος, cf. C.I.G., 4518, 4519 (both Damascus), or (3) a vocative—Γιράρ is possible but not convincing. I think *τρίς εικοσι* is 60 (3 × 20) rather than 23; I don't think there is any difficulty in quantity in this kind of 'poetry,' and it is not only better Greek but suits *πόλλα λιτουργήσας* better. *κεῖμε* is a familiar iotaicism."

## RECENT HITTITE DISCOVERIES.

By Col. C. R. CONDER, LL.D.

PENDING the full publication of the great discovery, by Dr. H. Winckler, of tablets which were excavated at Boghaz Keui ("the town of the pass") the ancient Pterium, on the borders of Cappadocia and Pontus, east of the river Halys, it seems necessary to be cautious as to the evidence that they will afford about the Hittite language. The recovery of the seal of a Hittite king, with native and cuneiform characters, has proved that Dr. W. Wright was right when he attributed these characters—usually called "Hittite"—to that race; but all the letters so far translated are in the Babylonian language. The recovery of some three centuries of Hittite political

correspondence has been due to the fortunate use of the Babylonian tongue by Hittite kings corresponding with the Kassites of Babylon.

It seems also necessary, in the absence of inscriptions, to be cautious in attributing to the Hittites the fine remains of a temple portico discovered by Prof. Garstang. They much resemble those at Samala (of the same age) which are accompanied by Aramaic texts in alphabetic characters; this site (*Zinjirli*) being not far off to the south.

Various cuneiform texts from the Hittite country, dating probably as early as the time of the Amarna correspondence, have been published; but they appear to be entirely Semitic. The most important of these are as follows:—

### I. *The Aleppo Text.*

This is partly translated by Dr. Sayce (*Proc. Bib. Arch. Soc.*, March, 1907), and he regards it as very old. It appears to be capable of further translation as a Semitic text, a letter like those in the correspondence of 'Ammurabi. The words in capitals are ideograms of Akkadian origin, as in other Babylonian texts.

#### OBVERSE.

(1) *NU GUM (ELUM?) a baabiya umma* (2) *Uttatima arka sa*  
*alu Šimiig* (3) *KI ili ustar RIM alika* (4) *AN IZ našir*  
*ü (li?) elum* (5) *AN NAN sa IZ našir ü AN-GIR-SE*  
(6) *NIN-SAKH duumku . . .* (7) *GUZA ana abbi tenu sa*  
*AN SE ZI* (8) *illiel belatu SE nuus TUM SE* (9) *milim*  
*usse sa SIB ali Kaska su-GUR* (10) *dumutiim UD I-KAM*  
*sulum* (11) *2½ IZGIIIZ ü 2½ narapan.* (12) . . . *našir ü*  
*alacu (lib?) a-li SE-ni* (13) . . . *MES . . . . .* (14) . . .  
*ANTAU US lisme racasanum* (15) *alacu sa museru AN KA-TUK*  
(16) *AN ustimii us-GAB* (17) *alacu sibiit subaat abiil* (18) *AN*  
*kirbannum ü AN kinam uliu* (19) *GAL 32 appaa* (20) *lim-*  
*lunu sari-ussunu* (21) *AN UD IZ . . . isiri ummi* (22) *SE*  
*AN MARTU rab* (23) *tuba AN abbi GUM IZMAR GIDDA*  
(24) *matim sa raas pau.* (25) *sa AN UD šiil šabiim* (26) *alacu*  
*MU Pase iriz UD* (27) *alacu khirru AN-ri ittiya.*

#### REVERSE.

(28) *6 IZSE sa arras ina sum abbi* (29) *izusza-maā* (30) *laliya*  
*alu Du . . biil APIN SE* (31) *senna puni za . . ara GIDDA*

(32) *SE izanu sa Ilumamiiim û akh* (33) *su 31 GUR SE reki*  
*SIB bit ili sa* (34) *IZ istida alu DUR bab ME-nu* (35) *al-*  
*â IZ-SAR sa DUR rab bab-ME* (36) *IZ-SAR ga-na ri:* (37)  
*IZ-SAR sa lismi amilum aba KU.IRR.IN ME* (38) *aba û*  
*IZ-SAR sa DUR-KI-ME* (39) *GUM . . . lum PATESI*  
(40) *AN khatil-nu-si* (41) *ni . . . GANPI edin TE* (42)  
*ittai:mu-naâ ina* (43) *IZ-SAR sa tissah ibbisuar likhi* (44) *appa-*  
*sa sarru KI-nu itki asar* (45) *illa izut ana zaar SE AN MARR-TU*  
(46) *akhatia khutrat* (47) *ili SE kit iliel AN-BI alinu* (48)  
*alacu labis liikbi tishannu ukka kata* (49) *sute 33 appua SE*  
*tisnadi* • (50) *sesani sarru sabuum* (51) *SIB bit AN-UD ina*  
*sum abbi . . .* (52) *SIB saab ana bika* (53) *TU PA GUP*  
*gusa sa arakh usut* (54) *ussa AN MARRTU baanitu sarru su-w-*  
(55) *ana abu ni Simas-sakir yaTUM gabi ZAB-SAL* (56) *AN*  
*KATUK naşir IZ-SAR* (57) *nabi AN-su SALL AN MARR-TU*  
(58) *usurani tissin su-GUR.*

## EDGE.

(59) *Pair-ma milim tibi ana ZAB sabi uTUM TIS ana sa AN-GI*  
*sa AN KI-tim* (60) *nadanim sa pariikh sum ma.*

The following translation may be suggested:—

## OBVERSE.

"Chief of the *clan*<sup>1</sup> and of my gates thus: The land of the city Simig<sup>2</sup> is untilled. I have caused the restoration of the shrine, the mound (that) I take. The God who protects<sup>3</sup> and . . .<sup>4</sup> The God NAN who protects, and the God of corn, the Holy Lord prospering . . . have given the throne to my father. In that the God who is the spirit of corn has caused failure we have caused possessors of corn to bring down corn. Plenty is made available<sup>5</sup> that the chief of the Kaska<sup>6</sup> has restored. What was wasted, on the first day of peace, had been remitted 2½ or 2½ fold restoring. (12) . . . and to go to our corn city . . . . let . . .

<sup>1</sup> This word is doubtful as to the first syllable.

<sup>2</sup> Mentioned by Dusratta (Tell Amarna texts: 27, Berlin, lines 94, 95) apparently in Armenia.

<sup>3</sup> IZ may be a causative prefix as in Akkadian, or else for "wood."

<sup>4</sup> Doubtful *li*.

<sup>5</sup> *Usse*, from *is'e*, "to free."

<sup>6</sup> The Kaska are well-known as a tribe in or near N. Syria.

*Antus* obey our league to go (as the God of all things has ordered, the God (who) being obeyed has delivered) to go to seven places that I possess. God will strengthen the unfortunate and lowly. Thirty two *gal* in all may fill for us their habitations. The Sun God being . . . it will be ample for the people. The corn of the West<sup>1</sup> is abundant. Good (is) the God of my father. Men of a distant abode bring (it) to the land that is needy. Them the Sun God sent soldiers to march, the year that Pase<sup>2</sup> fled, now they have been free to go, the deity being with me."

## REVERSE.

"Six (talents?) of corn for agriculture<sup>3</sup> will be ordered in my father's name, searching<sup>4</sup> the city Da . . . which possessed a heap of corn the year before (sending it out?) far off: corn for food of Ilumamim and his brother—thirty one *gur* of corn they brought the chief of the temple, which a document shows. He desired our fortress<sup>5</sup> and the plantation<sup>6</sup> of the great fortress: the plantation (of fruit?)<sup>7</sup> he has coveted<sup>8</sup> the plantation—as one may hear—he has desired, the canal<sup>9</sup> the man has desired, and the plantation of our place the official . . . *lum* the priest of God granted<sup>10</sup> us. (4) . . . the enclosure he gave to take. It has been decreed<sup>11</sup> for us, for the plantation, that you shall return (one may say it is good news?) also that it remained a possession of our land, a place one preserves. To send abroad the corn of the West to my brethren he grudged<sup>12</sup>: to him corn and wine to drink they gave. To go out let him say you will go to the law: for thee,

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps some partic'lar kind called "corn of the God of the West"—literally "corn of the God of the West (is) much," or perhaps (*rabi*) "they have brought up corn from the west."

<sup>2</sup> Pase is known as a Chaldean region near the mouth of the Euphrates.

<sup>3</sup> *Arras*, Arab. *aras*, "to cultivate."

<sup>4</sup> *Laliya*, Arab. *lahal*, "to search."

<sup>5</sup> Literally "city the place of gates."

<sup>6</sup> *IZ-SAR*, "garden" (Sayce), "plantation" (Pinches).

<sup>7</sup> *Gana*, perhaps Arab. *jani*, "fruit."

<sup>8</sup> *Riz*, Arab. *riz*, "to want what another possesses."

<sup>9</sup> Literally "way of water."

<sup>10</sup> *Khatil*, Arab. *hatal*.

<sup>11</sup> *Ittaizmu*, from *'izm*, Arab. *'azm*, "to confirm."

<sup>12</sup> *Khatraat*, Arab. *hatar*.

he has brought thirty three (talents !) in all of corn (that) you will store<sup>1</sup>. The king has sent me soldiers. The chief of the temple of the Sun God in the name of my father . . . the chief who returns to the valley, has mowed<sup>2</sup> him a talent of fodder,<sup>3</sup> hay for a month. The king has sent away Martu-banitu (or Martu-banda). To our father, Samas-sakir brings down the collection of Zabsal.<sup>4</sup> The God possessing all things, guarding the plantation, he has proclaimed his god : the Lady of the West helping me, thou shalt have rest (and) restoration."

#### EDGE.

"This explanation is enough. Satisfaction for the soldiers that I bring down, also for what the (priest ?) of the local god has given liberally of his produce."

Thus rendered it appears that the subject of the letter is a land settlement after a war, and the supply of corn to a region devastated by the Kaska, who appear to have been a tribe connected with the Hittites.

#### II. *The Yuzgat Text.*

This has been partly translated by Dr. Pinches (*Asiatic Society Monographs*, Vol. XI), who has kindly sent me a copy. He states (p. 9) that he has not considered it justifiable to attempt a (full) translation, but the following attempt is based on the supposition that it is entirely in Semitic speech :—

#### OBVERSE.

(1) . . . . mi . . . . (2) . . . tu el TUR-MES-ka . . . . (3) . . . .  
se AN Tessubas ana NIN . . . . (4) . . . . nu avaraad  
muteid . . . . (5) . . . TUR-MES-ya summa GUM isma-na  
AN za . . . . (6) . . . us uus-ma-na AN zanaan aappa sari  
is (tu ?) . . . . (7) . . . raad TUR-MES-ka-ma insaga iniya  
ilzi kha . . . . (8) UD neekhu maanti-nu UD-u idaar khaatnu  
(tu) (9) Khaakhkhima AS rabis Saru aanti ana SIS-su TAI  
ina KI izzi (10) KHAk-SAK-MES asu idaar IZ-SAR-ZUN  
neelu NU-tu el (11) aar-su laasse-MES khat-is gatru NU US  
liistiinu IB . . . .

<sup>1</sup> *Tisnadi*, apparently from *nadu*, "to put."

<sup>2</sup> *Usut*, Arab. *wasa*, "to shave."

<sup>3</sup> Literally "herb of cattle."

<sup>4</sup> A region near Syria already known.

(12) NUU-ZUN AN-UN-KUR-MES GUD-ZUN LU-ZUN  
 (LIK-KU?)ZUN tiin (nu?) (13) TUR-MES KAR taasma  
 KHAL-KI US . . . tiinnuzi summa ina . . . (14) NU-ma  
 astaanguun TU URUD nuuzziya ANZA kharzi (15) NU  
 sa uul tiinnuzi maaanma ittasar-ma AN (16) Apa sapa  
 ID AN Tessubas teidu kiima ID kisaad (17) ASI  
 Khaakhkhima AS attiissi-anni isse teizzi (18) Kii azziikkatani  
 akma US kiitta-ni (19) gabbu aaddin-ma UD UKU uul mat  
 idki GUM siplu GUM SIB IZ . . . (20) apaa sa UD nee  
 tiinnu UD AN Tessub sa uul saakki.

(21) AN Tessubas AN Samsi bieiti iddinaā AN UD UKU ua  
 teid . . . (22) Pair AN UD UKU sa AN KHI ES malzina  
 AN uul u emiya (23) AN Tessub sa teizzinu āra AN-ma ID  
 khaanda uul u emiya (24) (mi) esaā amme eeltu eigga ina miees  
 aa anta (25) (mi) esaā maābi KHAR aktannu AN ZAGAGA  
 AN bieitu (26) (mi) esaā AN UD UKU u atenu AN ZAGAGA  
 AN Khaakhkhima AS izbad (27) gal-ā AN UKU AN khalzi  
 istin apuunnaā tinuzi (28) gal-ā raas giimra ina iasnu  
 apuunna Khaakhkhima AS izbad (29) (i)dinā AN telibinu  
 Khalzi istin apaa ina ā TURya (30) ikkiis kharas ZI teriibzi  
 āa KURna ai khaldiinna (31) iazbatu tukbiru luu ari-nu  
 apuunna Khaakhkhima AS kharzi.

(32) . . . ā AN subtī assa AN AN MAKH khalzi istin summa  
 āa bie akinu (33) bieya-imma. Akiir MUME abie el DUB-bab  
 ina Khaakhkhima (34) ina Khaakhkhima AS AN Tessub niteizzi-  
 ma 10,000 biis saatti (35) NU sikhu maantees akiir MUME kiini  
 GAL-RI (36) . . . namma. Kharsi MUME ankha sa ammili  
 ina SIS-MES-su (37) MUKH-anni iknies MUME apuus  
 Khaakhkhima AS ul izbad (38) . . . apuus khalza IS AN  
 Tessubas Khaakhkhimi (39) (iz) zi Kiissira ina miisū GAL-RI  
 ya anda damein (40) . . . ya damein PIS summa amau-usa  
 NIN-MES-ussu-ZUN (US?) (41) . . . SI-ZUN mi-taalie  
 edar-si.

(42) . . . Rimmuni TAR ina KI izzia uttiā MAR-MES ina  
 maas(ri) (43) . . . sa anne Kassi Khati-mi . . . . .  
 (44) NIN-MES uskhu usnuud . . . . . . . . . .

## REVERSE.

(1) . . . tana IS AN ENZUNA sieiidu (2) . . . aar KAGAL  
 asbi nissii eidu GUM SUGI SAL (SUGI) (3) . . . ilzi uugga

*SAL ANNA-ANNA ina eesmi (4) . . . sa liitu akkhati suul  
uul daakkhuun zakurta (5) . . . akkhati niyu daakkhuun  
ANMES AN-UD daar neizza AN (6) . . . suukhki  
akkhkuun ai ismiit khala ina mimil khattan (7) . . ma is  
garakk'a ina naas sa AN Seir tiikhkuun GU KHAR izzi.*

(8) . . . ina ullaar uul mailt akkhkuur niin-ma UKU manan . .  
AN (9) AN telibunu sama ida niikki noakkies ZI nga AN-MES  
(10) Ma-akhkhita AN mugami AN-UD sa teizzi AN-MES ina  
ullaar khata id . . . (11) (i)na azmi samaa umma AN MAKII  
NU manan AN-UD USaassu idu (12) . . tiligo IX alpa a  
mamil GUM MASDU nuutlalu upaau.

The remainder of the text (ll. 13-49) contains a list of offerings, as explained by Dr. Pinches. For the translation of uncommon words in this letter, the Arabic seems specially useful, as well as Hebrew and Aramaic. The first six lines are too broken to be treated, but the words "God Tessubas,"<sup>1</sup> and "my sons" (or "my young men"), are certain; from l. 7 the meaning seems clearer—

"(At the) coming of thy sons my eyes overflowed, that . . .  
now they have confirmed our expectation. This day is  
restored the affinity of the right ruler<sup>2</sup> altogether. I awaited  
the king, he has sent a chief instead. He explored the moun-  
tains: he went round the woods. The chiefs were roused  
behind him. The devourers strove fearfully, no man may  
repeat . . .

"The chiefs of the Lord of lands give oxen, sheep, dogs,<sup>4</sup> and  
flocks. The sons of the region you call Khalki, the . . .  
people, you have wasted, when . . . I have installed a  
chief there. A talent of copper is my spoil. I laid waste  
eagerly the chief whose sustenance you have not wasted. This  
was ordered. God also has confirmed power—the God  
Tessubas—you know how the right ruler has entirely won  
power. I saved myself: you sent help. As I remind myself

<sup>1</sup> This was the name of Rimmon, in Mitanni, and among the Hittites, and it is mentioned in an Assyrian list of Gods.

<sup>2</sup> *ilzi* or *ilazi* appears frequently in these letters apparently as a pronoun, like Hebrew *hallaza*, Arab. *alladhu*.

<sup>3</sup> *Khaakkhima* is a very unusual word, but perhaps to be compared with *Khakham*, still an official title.

<sup>4</sup> *Likkuzun*, "dogs," according to Dr. Pinches: perhaps to guard the flocks.

I was anxious. Every man was faithful to me. I was granted this on the day that the people did not crush the land. The lowly, the noble . . . also that a day of meeting to-day the God Tessub grants, who has not forgotten.

Both the God Tessubas and the God Shamash have granted the prayers. The God who is the light of the people, the same you know, glorifying him who (is) a God of goodness, our nourisher, is not this God my fear? Tessub, the God you glorify (do!), this God, his power being adverse, is not that my fear? The helper of the people rising from the dust, in prosperity I never left: the helper of the strong of heart I clave to—the God Zagaga, God of prayers, the helper, the light of the people; he has come to us: the god Zagaga has granted a right ruler: the redeemer, the God of the people, the God of deliverance, has strengthed whenever you lay waste—the redeemer of all the needy from of old—when he granted the right ruler. God has given our requests, he has confirmed deliverance. Also, by choice of my son, will be given peace of spirit (and) rest. Never will it desert our land, or our times, it will endure, or we mistake, when the right ruler (is) zealous.

I . . . the God of the shrine a divine sacrifice. The great God of deliverance strengthened (when none prayed?) this my prayer. I have engraved tablets. I pray in the tablets for the ruler, for the right ruler, 'O God Tessub be we sent ten thousand victories<sup>1</sup> a year'! The chief they overthrew being set up, I have engraved tablets establishing superiority, . . . I sought engravers of tablets whom—men from his brethren—he gathered before me. I made tablets (what) the right ruler granted not, I made . . . effective, when the God Tessub had ordered the ruler. I laid down what was right for my possession of superiority: the abolition of my . . . abolition of service when I desired it. His chiefs (each?) . . . having been sworn, he arranged it.

The chief . . . Rimmoni that you sent instead has consented. The young men in the place . . . the Kassites the Khati, who . . . the lords that they overthrew I helped . . .

<sup>1</sup> *biiis*, Arab. *bis*, "to be strong in war."

## REVERSE.

Our . . . when they made the Feast of the Moon . . . bearing the shrines (before?) the gate they feasted. The prophet, the prophetess . . . this. I honoured the goddesses with a sin offering . . . of a friendly race he has testified: the memory of a friendly . . . that he removed, God has hated. The Sun God returns—God be praised . . . He remitted not wrath, being sick, in as much as they have sinned . . . when the land was in sickness that the Corn God sent, being angry of heart.

In returning . . . he slew no longer the offspring of the people that God has nourished. God has heard our requests. The grievous spirit of God attacked (and) multiplied afflictions. Being made friends, God is reconciled—the Sun God whom you glorify—on return . . . fear. In affliction he has heard. Thus this his servant has made a feast for the great God, the nourisher, the Sun God. He has brought nine oxen. The whole of the peasantry we have sworn to be faithful."

This letter may probably be to a Hittite suzerain, by an ally who had received help against some foe. It is couched in the usual strain of piety, and concludes with the list of presents to a temple.

III. *The Boghaz-Keui Texts.*

## A.

An interesting passage is given without translation in Dr. Winckler's report, *Mitteilungen der deutschen Orient. Gesellschaft*, Dec., 1907, p. 19, note 3).

*Makh-an maza abu-ya Mursilis illi IS kisaad. Akhiya mazagan. Mutallis ana kussi abi-su esaat: ammunkku za ana pani akhiya: bel kiribbat ki iskhakhaat numu. Akhiya ana rab-ME sheti UD-ti: tiittanuut mat ali eliti: yamu-ma: DUR-niya akhkha-anni; bi eslanu mat ali eliti; nistabar khatiraan: maatmu: AN AK TESUB-as, mar Zidauma, DUR-niya akhkha: kisit: numu. AN Istar beltiya DUR-it: kani, essaan KIIAR-ta: akhiya yamu: Mutallis-assu ukhta. NU MU-KAN nisi annaza, etc.*

The words being thus divided, the passage appears to read entirely in the Babylonian language.

"My father Mursilis became mighty when he conquered them.  
My elder brother Mutallis he placed on the throne of his

father. I was brought low there before my brother. As he caused a supplicant to be slain they murmured. My brother disregarding the chiefs every day, the land of the city of iniquity was agitated; at this he was wroth. My bondage<sup>1</sup> grieved me. The land of the city of wickedness sent us a request. It was examined fairly,<sup>2</sup> being put off.<sup>3</sup> Aktessubas the son of Zidaa conjointly followed<sup>4</sup> my bondage: they murmured. My lady Istar (was) a protection. He invoked (her) angry at heart. My brother was wroth. Him—Mutallis—he seized. A Prince (for long time?)<sup>5</sup> I (gladden?) the people."

This appears to describe and justify a revolution which placed Khattusil, the Hittite contemporary of Rameses II., on the throne of his elder brother Mutallis. The latter is represented as a tyrant. He is known to have made war with Egypt, breaking the treaty made by his father. In another passage Khattusil is said to have acceded on the death of his brother.

## B.

An astronomical tablet has been published by Dr. A. Jeremias, from a copy by Dr. Winckler (see *Journal Roy. Asiatic Soc.*, 1909, pp. 274–6). This also seems to be in Babylonian speech.

(1) *Suukruta-ma ina sa-mu amaru biennu-ilzi* (2) *VII Kasbi arnu-ilzi nammaru tuuriyaā* (3) *tuuriyaā VII GAN-MAS khanuns ki izzi* (4) *maakkhaan marn arkha laa ilzi NU ina IV musi* (5) *āantiid arruba-ilzi nammaru* (6) *ina bit GUM ZU AN-DA bie khuda-ilzi* (7) *NU khala-sunu azzikkar-zi NU simti-ma ina UD III-KAM* (8) *biennuā-ilzi VII Kaspi arnu-ilzi* (9) *ina VII musi-ma biennuā ilzi II-su VII Kaspi* (10) *arnu-ilzi tuuriya-ilzi nammaru* (11) *masiya AN KI NU kassi kassi enuma ina VII GAN-ZUN* (12) *anda biennies ki izzi maakkhaan maru arkha* (13) *laa ilzi naru GAN ina asru-ilzi nammaru* (14) *I UB-na uzrukriin UD-DU-a arkha yada-ilzi* (15) *II UB-na sekar ittinuda-immiya ilzi* (16) *naru arkha ada ilzi nammaru izniid* (17) *saraakhu ittiya ilzi nekuus mekhar-ma* (18) *tuuriya ilzi naru I Kasba bienni-issaan* (19) *bienna I maakkhaan maru*

<sup>1</sup> *DUR* has the meaning *markašu*, "bondage," "chaining."

<sup>2</sup> *Khatiran*, cp. Arab. *ḥaran*, "just."

<sup>3</sup> *Maatmu*, Arab. *atm*, "delay."

<sup>4</sup> *Kisit*, Arab. *kisa*.

<sup>5</sup> *MU-KAN*, perhaps "for years," or "yearly."

*arkha laa ilzi* (20) *naru ina NU ãatarabaā-ilzi* (21) *namma-*  
*ina bit GUM ZU AN-DA bie khuda-ilzi* (22) *NU mi AN-*  
*KHU-u maandaan uzuukhriin UDDU-a* (23) *innudu ina iā-*  
*labiri īan azzikkar-zi.*

The notice of "hours" (*kasbi*) and of the "moon" (*aŋgu*) shows clearly what is the subject.

"To behold the sight in heaven that they have observed, I looked at its appearance 14 hours, transit by transit, seven observations. As the small crescent<sup>1</sup> of the moon was low, I failed not to watch for the appearance of this star,<sup>2</sup> for four nights, in the house of the diviner.<sup>3</sup> He has requested this information about the star. I record here their progress. On the third day this star of fate they have perceived, which I saw for 14 hours. In seven nights both saw it a second time: fourteen hours I saw this, this transit. The appearance of a sign of the God of Earth—a very brilliant star—in seven observations, observably larger<sup>4</sup> as the small crescent of the moon came forth, which was not the light of the observation seen in that place. In one direction one recognized this when the moon was waning (or setting); in a second direction the sight of both failed: the moonlight at this time of observation it extinguished. They have concluded<sup>5</sup> with me that it (is) an omen of the future, this transit of light for two hours they observed, observing clearly the small crescent of the moon: this was not the light in this star. I watched for this star, this appearance, in the house of the diviner. He has requested this information of the star, of which the King's God is the giver. When setting, I record (or remember) none of old more brilliant in light."

This may perhaps refer to the early observation of a brilliant temporary star, such as astronomers have often observed.

### C.

A short tablet, published by M. E. Chantre (*Mission en Cappadoce*, p. 51), has also been recognized as astrological.

<sup>1</sup> *Maakkhaan* is perhaps explained by Arab. *akhnaya*, "a bow."

<sup>2</sup> *NU*, Arab. *nu*, "a rising star."

<sup>3</sup> *GUM ZU AN-DA*, "The man of knowledge from God" = diviner.

<sup>4</sup> *Andi*, from *nde*, "large."

<sup>5</sup> *Saraakhu*, Arab. *sarah*.

(1) *II SI-ya . . .* (2) *RI itba (a)* (3) *a KHAL ilti MUS . .*  
 (4) *yanu* (5) *BIL AB ina na . . .* (6) *issi ara KHAL*  
 (7) *BIL-ru AB ina* (8) *MUL-MES ātidu* (9) *ina mamilla*  
 (10) *BIL-ru AB AS-ti* (11) *eta bieī* (12) *enuma AB GIG.*

This is rendered difficult by being very briefly written with many ideograms. It seems to mean:—

“ My eyes marked the rising of . . . . I announce that no one . . . the Goddess. The revolution of the month in her . . . I see complete. The revolution of the month I recognize from stars, in fulness of revolution of the month. The omens already demanding, behold the month is dark (or evil).”

This seems to mean that the new month is to be regarded as fixed by stars, though no one has seen the new moon; and that the omens are bad, because the moon was hidden.

#### D.

A still shorter astronomical report from the same collection (p. 55).

(1) *lisurru* (2) *XXX-la naru TUK-KHAL* (2) *ina bit-ta (NAB?)*  
 (3) *NU idi* (4) *uzazu.*

“ Let them begin the thirty (days) The day of completion in the house of light one has not known to declare.”

This seems to refer also to the fixation of the new month.

#### E.

Other fragmentary texts (fifteen in all), published by Dr. Sayce (*Journal Roy. Asiatic Soc.*, 1897, p. 919, seq.; 1898, p. 985, seq.; 1899, p. 263, seq.) are mostly too much broken to read consecutively. Nearly all of them seem to be religious, and they include lists of offerings and sacrifices.

In M. Chantre's collection (*Mission en Cappadoce*, 1898, No. 2, pp. 49, 50) one text is in two parallel columns, and may turn out to be a bilingual in Hittite and Babylonian. It is possibly a letter about “Mursil the Hittite”—father of Khattusil—but the left-hand column, on obverse and reverse, is unfortunately almost entirely broken away. It seems to be in Akkadian, and to present parallels to the Babylonian of the right-hand columns.

## THE GERMAN EXCAVATIONS AT JERICHO.

By STANLEY A. COOK, M.A.

Of the Palestinian sites which have recently been excavated, none, perhaps, appeals so strongly to the popular imagination as Jericho. The student of the Old Testament may appreciate the part played in history by Lachish, Gezer, Taanach and Megiddo, but the ordinary reader is probably arrested less by these names than by that of the city taken by Joshua. It is a matter for congratulation, therefore, that the German excavations, in spite of their brief duration, have not only furnished much valuable evidence for the history of Palestinian culture, but have also allowed us to form an excellent idea of those great walls, the story of the overthrow of which has impressed us from early childhood. These excavations are admittedly imperfect, and only a small portion of the available evidence has been published; yet sufficient is known to justify some attempt to place the results in a kind of historical framework, and with interesting consequences. Of course, as material continues to accumulate from a variety of sites and centres of influence, it will be possible some day to have a veritable "archaeological history" of Palestine, but while so much still remains provisional, and so many complicated problems still defy solution, it will be prudent to attempt the less ambitious task of describing briefly the main results of the excavation of Jericho in their bearing upon the history of the site.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Sellin gave a report of the first operations, April 5-26, 1907, in *Mittheil. u. Nachricht. d. deutschen Pal.-Vereins*, 1907, No. V, pp. 65-71. In his account of the subsequent labours, Jan. 2-April 8, 1908, in the *Mitteil. d. deutschen Orient. Gesellschaft zu Berlin*, Dec., 1908, No. 39 (pp. 1-41, with 2 plans and 18 illustrations), he incorporates the reports of Dr. Langenegger and Dr. Watzinger. Unless otherwise stated the references in this article are made to the second of the reports. Of the various summaries and discussions (for which see *Q.S.*, 1908, p. 79), special mention must be made of that of Prof. Vincent in the *Revue Biblique*, 1909, pp. 270-279, which seeks to bring out more clearly the value of the results for Old Testament history.

In dealing with archaeological evidence, it is not out of place to keep in mind the possibilities of the district concerned and the circumstances which have influenced its fortunes; for the contribution of archaeology to history is manifestly incomplete unless we consider the various complex conditions and causes which go to form history. It is interesting, therefore, that all writers agree in praising the fertility of the plain of Jericho. Famous for its waters and its wealth of produce, it is a district where, under propitious circumstances, nature and human industry can successfully combine. Robinson described it as "certainly one of the richest in the world; enjoying all the rains like the hill-country, and susceptible besides of unlimited irrigation from copious fountains" (*Bibl. Researches*, II, 304). Prof. G. A. Smith styles Jericho "the gateway of a province, the emporium of a large trade, the mistress of a great palm-forest, woods of balsam, and very rich gardens" (*Hist. Geog.*, p. 266). As an invaluable source of supplies it was important in peace and war, and both the historical evidence and the surface-remains of buildings and aqueducts show how the region flourished under a capable administration. Only with the decay of enterprise and with inattention to irrigation did nature begin to take the upper hand. The district was no doubt always affected by natural conditions; the climate was hot, unhealthy and sickly, and with the decline of industry there was a rapid deterioration, which (it would seem) was only temporarily stopped by the energetic Crusaders.<sup>1</sup> Modern travellers have often noticed the inherent weakness of the character of the inhabitants, and, like Robinson, have realized that, for the return of prosperity, "nothing is wanted but the hand of man to till the ground" (*loc. cit.*) As is so frequently the case, even in other lands, economic conditions can only be improved by strengthening the character of the people and by a firm administration. In short, not to delay further upon the possibilities of the district, Jericho was a place the political and economic importance of which was not likely to be overlooked, and in the light of this the historical and archaeological evidence gains a new interest.

It had often been inferred that the hills above the Sultan's Spring (*'Ain es-Sultan*) marked the site of the ancient Jericho. Archaeological support for this was furnished by the cuttings of

<sup>1</sup> Col. Conder, no doubt rightly, ascribes the treachery of the climate (especially in the rainy season) to the decay of cultivation (*Tent Work in Palestine*, II, 26).

Sir Charles Warren and by the subsequent examination undertaken by Dr. Bliss, and the German excavations have brought the fullest proof.<sup>1</sup> The relatively modern village of Eribâ, not far away, still preserves the old name. To the west stands the precipitous Jebel Karantel, the "mountain" to which the Israelite spies might easily have fled through the intervening cane-jungle and thorn-groves.<sup>2</sup> About five miles eastward flows the Jordan.

The site lies about 15 miles from Jerusalem, 33 from Samaria, and it formed a station in the important cross-route from Moab to Palestine (to Bethel and Beth-horon; or to Beth-shean). Jewish pilgrims from Peraea and Galilee used to assemble there on their way to the Temple (cp. also Luke xix, 1). As appears to have been often the case, especially in North Syria, the inhabitants found it desirable to occupy the higher ground of the plain, and the plateau of Jericho, which is situated about 12 metres (40 feet) above the level, furnished an excellent site. The plateau is about 360 metres (or 1100 feet) N.E. to S.W., and is egg shaped, the point lying at the southern end; the greatest width is 160 metres (500 feet). From this plateau rise seven hills varying in height from 5 to 12 metres (16-40 feet), protected in olden times by a majestic wall of a total length of nearly half-a-mile. It ran round the hills following the natural configuration of the plateau; it had the same egg-like shape, being curved and not angular; and it enclosed the source of the water-supply. The total area within has been roughly estimated at about 12 acres. Thus the ancient Jericho had the elevated position, the access to water, and the relatively small compass of other "cities" of Palestine.

This great city-wall is well described by Dr. Felix Langenegger (pp. 15-22). It rested upon a bed of loam and gravel about 3 or 4 feet thick (80-130 metres); this was perhaps on account of the difficulty of levelling the rock, or to counteract detrition. The material came from the immediate neighbourhood. At the lower part were one or two rows of large stones (1 x 1.20 to 1 x 2.10 metres), above which were from six to twelve layers of smaller ones. All the interstices had been carefully filled in to give greater stability and security. The wall sloped upwards to a height of 4.50 to 5.40 metres (16 feet), and was highest at the northern end; perhaps because this

<sup>1</sup> See *Q.S.*, 1894, p. 176. The German excavators seem to have been unaware of the data; at all events they do not refer to them.

<sup>2</sup> C. R. Conder, *Tent Work in Palestine*, II, 6.

was exposed to the pass that came down from North Israel. On the top of it was a cob-wall about 6 feet 6 inches thick, and, if now nearly 8 feet high (2·40 metres), was once no doubt considerably higher. About half of the circumference of the wall was traced, and almost at the close of the excavation some remains of a large gateway were found at the southern end. The workmanship along the southern end was cruder and more irregular, suggesting to Dr. Langenegger not merely the work of different builders, but perhaps a different date for its construction. Taken as a whole, the wall has justly been regarded as a triumph of engineering skill which a modern builder, in the same conditions, could scarcely excel (p. 15). Like the great tunnel of Gezer (see *Q.S.*, 1908, pp. 218 *sqq.*, 228), it is an unexpected example of the advanced knowledge of building reached in early Palestine, and is certainly not the work of amateurs inexperienced in the art of fortification. Its massive character can be easily appreciated, thanks to the instructive illustrations which accompany Dr. Sellin's report, and one can readily perceive that in olden times the great walls of Jericho, visible for a considerable distance over the plain, must have appeared formidable and impregnable. One instinctively visualizes the scene with the help of Egyptian and Assyrian representations of Palestinian or Syrian fortresses, and sees the walls eight yards or more in height, with houses, towers, and strongly-armed warriors (as at Lachish), confronting the gaunt Bedouin of the desert armed with their simple weapons.

At the northern end of this egg-shaped city were the remains of a fine building described as a citadel (pp. 7, 22-26). A long wall, 11 feet 6 inches thick (3·30-·70 metres), ran, not very evenly, more or less parallel to the northern part of the city wall and about 38 yards behind it. At each end were massive towers 8·30 × 4·70 metres and 12·20 × 5 metres, extending to within 70-100 feet of the eastern and western sides of the wall. The entire frontage (E.S.E. to W.N.W.) amounted to about 265 feet; within the citadel the distance would be roughly 198 feet. Not enough was excavated to determine the original extent of this building; at all events it was found that the walls turn southwards and (to judge from the plan) slightly converge. In front of this citadel ran another wall, less massive (1·50-·60 metres thick); this too turned to the south at the western end, but towards the east it was confused with some tower-like structure. The space between the inner and outer wall

was about 10 feet (3.350 metres), and contained small connecting walls, some of which belonged to earlier buildings. On excavating southwards from the western tower, a small area (about 200 square metres) disclosed the fact that the inner wall of the citadel was about 26 feet in height, and built against it were various chambers of different periods (p. 14). A larger area (about 500 square metres) in the valley on the south side of the middle of the citadel-wall revealed small houses (or chambers) separated by a curving passage; the buildings were of various periods, and the deposits threw much light upon the culture of the "Canaanite" age (see below, p. 62 *sq.*). On the west side of the plateau, excavation brought to light the old city wall. Within its circumference were two strong walls running southwards, parallel to one another and to the direction of the city wall, from which the outer (western) one was (to judge by the plan) only about 32 or 33 feet removed. This was traced (for about 82 feet) to a tower-like construction which turned to the east, while the inner wall led to a pillar and doorway. It seems evident that this building, protected as it was on the west side by a well-preserved glacis, was of considerable importance, but its relation (if any) to the citadel was not ascertained (p. 10 *sq.*).<sup>1</sup> Apart from these two structures no other buildings of importance are described, although elsewhere there were many indications of settlements belonging to various periods. Especially interesting were the areas (1) between the city wall and the citadel (about 1350 square metres), and (2) the *Quell-hügel*—to adopt (for the sake of safety) the name given to the hill which rises above the pool—a locality (about 300 square metres) of much value for the archaeological history of the city.

Although various objects of religious significance were unearthed, the excavators found no temple or sacred place. Of the sacred pillar or *Masibah*, to which Dr. Sellin referred in the first report (p. 70), we have no further information. In some recent discussions of Palestinian excavation it has been urged that there has sometimes been too ready an inclination to find a religious meaning in the most ordinary objects—as though every pillar was necessarily a sacred one, or every semblance of human or animal shape invariably an idol. On the other hand, it is only just to remember that religion played a far greater part in Oriental life than the European critic

<sup>1</sup> On the plan there is a space of about 200 feet point to point from the citadel (which is running south) and this building (which runs north). The directions, however, are not parallel. See also below, p. 67.

often supposes, and it is legitimate, within proper limits, to expect and to look for the traces of the ancient religion. It may be that further excavation will bring to light some sacred place in Jericho corresponding to the buildings on the eastern hill of Gezer, on the eastern side of Tell el Mutesellim and on the north-east edge of Tell es Safy. At the last-mentioned place, as also at Gezer, a tomb still stands quite close to the sacred places unearthed in our day. Jericho, it is true, does not appear to be so distinguished, yet such has been the religious conservatism of Palestine that even the remains of some religious edifice at the pool, even if of Roman or later date, presuppose an earlier sacred site.<sup>1</sup> It is tempting to combine the almost invariable continuity of religious tradition with the prominence of Jericho—the name alone has a suggestion of a moon-cult—and with such evidence as we fortunately have for its place in religious history (see below). Apart from this, moreover, it is an interesting fact that numerous Arab graves were found in the north of the plateau, above the "citadel" and between it and the city wall (pp. 7, 9), and this seems to point to some persisting belief in the sacred character of the immediate neighbourhood. Further, two family graves of the Early Byzantine period were found about 100 feet north-east of the eastern tower of the citadel. It is really premature to venture even upon a guess, but it is possible that the recovery of the citadel in its original extent will bring that of the temple of Jericho.

In any case, only a very small part of the total area of Jericho has been at all thoroughly examined, and without a fuller account of what has actually been achieved inferences are necessarily precarious. It seems that the finds which have been made are very numerous, and it is much to be regretted that the reader is very inadequately helped in any endeavour to co-ordinate the material in the two reports. Many of the most interesting details mentioned in the first report are not mentioned in the second, and this is the more unfortunate because the latter presents a very convenient sketch of the different phases of culture, arranged in clearly-cut historical periods (Canaanite, Israelite, late Jewish or Hellenistic, Byzantine). In turning to a brief summary of the evidence, I adopt the terminology of the report, but work backwards from the most recent deposits to the oldest. This is preferable, partly because of

<sup>1</sup> See, for these remains, Clermont-Ganneau, *Archaeolog. Researches*, II, p. 32.

the intricate character of the strata in certain areas, and partly because the authors are influenced by a view of the early history of Jericho which stands in need of closer examination.

(1) The Mohammedan graves on the surface call for no remark as they had been rifled.

(2) The "early Byzantine" age was well illustrated by two graves at the city-wall in the north-east, and by remains immediately below the surface of the Quell-hügel which proved the existence of some settlement (pp. 14, 37 *sq.*). Among the deposits were coins, interesting vessels of glass (illustrated on p. 37) and stone, clay lamps, knives and other objects of iron, ornamented wooden caskets, and marble slabs which perhaps were originally used as tables. Attention is drawn to the egg- or pear-shaped amphorae of hard burnt clay, green to yellowish red in colour, with a decoration of wavy lines resembling the "much older Israelite" variety.<sup>1</sup>

(3) Preceding this we have the remains of the "late Jewish or Hellenistic" period, which were found everywhere below the Arat, graves north of the citadel.<sup>2</sup> In digging down, the work was much complicated owing to the disturbance caused by the Mohammedan burials (p. 7), and it was difficult to distinguish the true relative dates of objects (p. 9). To this culture belonged sherds of black polished Attic ware, ascribed to the fifth or fourth century B.C., fragments in terra-cotta of human and animal heads, jar-handles with Rhodian stamps, and others (either near or a little below them) with Aramaic lettering (pp. 9, 35). The last-mentioned are a distinct novelty in Palestinian archaeology (p. 38 *sq.*). They are inscribed with the Divine Name (*Yah*, twice *Yahū*). Nine were found in this locality, two came from the "western trenches," and one was found in 1907 within the citadel itself. They were not all of the same manufacture or stamp, and consequently represent a well-distributed usage, the meaning of which can only be conjectured. Dr. Sellin tentatively compares the bells inscribed "Holy unto Yahweh" (*Zech. xiv, 20 sq.*). Prof. Vincent records this with

<sup>1</sup> In connexion with this it is to be remembered that Dr. Sellin had also observed at Taanach ware with reminiscences of earlier motives and shapes, which he ascribed to the native culture of the Roman period (*Tell Ta'anek*, pp. 54, 85). Even the early Arab ware shows a certain similarity in colour-decoration with the old painted pottery (Bliss and Macalister, *Excavations in Palestine*, p. 134).

<sup>2</sup> A very rich store of pottery was also found in "late Jewish" houses at the south-west of the city (p. 14).

approval, and also brings these Aramaic handles into connexion with the familiar Judaean series, suggesting that the Divine Name of the post-Exilic theocracy takes the place of "to the king—Socoh (or Hebron, etc.)" on the handles of the monarchy (*Rev. Bibl.*, p. 276 *sqq.*). To add to these conjectures I am tempted to compare the custom of printing the name of a god upon the bricks employed in the construction of Greek temples. This suggestion, inspired by Nilsson's study of Rhodian jar handles, approximates that of Dr. Sellin, and assumes that the jars to which the handles belonged were used in religious ceremonial.<sup>1</sup> Another jar-handle with an Aramaic stamp (said to read בָּנְךָ) was found in the "north-east" by the city-wall. From this corner also came one of the Royal jar-handles inscribed "to the king," with traces of the name Socoh. It had the same characteristics as the rest of this class of object, and no doubt belongs to the same period. This, however, is scarcely the eighth or seventh century, as Dr. Sellin believes (p. 40); one must no doubt descend "to the very end of the Hebrew monarchy," with Mr. Macalister (*Q.S.*, 1909, p. 291), or, in my own opinion, even later (*ib.*, pp. 292 *sqq.*).

(4) In describing the work north of the citadel, Dr. Sellin reports that they came to the foundations of about thirty "small houses" closely packed together and only in one place severed by a passage. Infant burials were found beneath the floors. Older walls had occasionally been appropriated, and in general it was impossible to distinguish the "old Jewish or Canaanite" from the "late Jewish" walls (p. 9 *sqq.*). In a description of the deposits, Dr. Watzinger finds two periods; the later, characterized by the use of small field-stones for building, proves to be clearly late Jewish or Hellenistic (p. 35), and has already been noticed above. The earlier is posterior to the destruction or breaching of the city-wall, one well-preserved house being built over the lowest of a series of steps built up against it (pp. 10, 32). The infant jar-burials were accompanied by amphorae of "Syro-Israelite" form and egg-shaped jars with white *engobe* and lilac-brown colouring. The latter are associated with Cypriote and late-Mycenaean analogies and are treated as imports. These, and the relation of the house to the wall, as also the discovery of vases (with comb-decoration of wavy lines or rows of points) associated with Troy, City VII, lead Dr. Watzinger to date

<sup>1</sup> M. P. Nilsson, *Timbres amphoriques de Lindos* (Copenhagen, 1909), p. 64. See below, p. 77.

this culture from the end of the second millennium B.C. The ware in general, apart from imports and native imitations, is developed from the "old Canaanite," some of the older characteristics being retained; but the earlier opinion that this inter-connexion is an "archaism" is renounced in favour of the view that the intermediate development did not take place in Jericho itself but in another district.<sup>1</sup> Dr. Watzinger's view appears to be influenced by the conviction that there is a distinct gap in the culture evolution of Jericho; this is associated with the destruction of the city by Joshua, and consequently the absence of certain characteristic "old Canaanite" forms and the subsequent sudden appearance of other distinctive varieties are held to point to a break in the normal evolution.<sup>2</sup>

(5) In between the two cultures north of the citadel, viz. (3) and (4) above, the excavators place the "Israelite" culture of the Quell-hügel. Here the houses are of a quite distinct type from those of the northern settlement (p. 32), the "Canaanite" type of pot, as in (4), is wanting (p. 33), and other distinctive features are absent (p. 35). Moreover, in the Hellenistic period, the wheel-made vases, which belonged to the jar-burial deposits, are related to, but more developed than, those in the Quell-hügel (pp. 35, 37). The houses furnished surprisingly large stores of remains which throw much light on the life of the people. The date (time of Ahab) is furnished by two Cypriote jugs of red clay with black colouring which are found in Greece to the seventh century. In general the relationship of the pottery is with the Graeco Phoenician ware at Cyprus as against the "old Canaanite." Pottery of grey or yellow and red clay, with concentric circles in dark violet colour, recalls that found at Taanach. The similarity is not noticed in the report, but seems clear (see Sellin, *Tell Ta'anek*, p. 100).

(6) For the oldest culture we are taken to the "Canaanite" houses in the citadel (pp. 27 ff.). The ware had all the characteristics of the old Palestinian pottery, and could compete with the

<sup>1</sup> In connexion with this he draws attention to a curious variety of wheel-made ware which was evidently an imitation of metal vases (p. 34).

<sup>2</sup> In the first report (p. 69), Dr. Sellin, describing the work at Hill 3, south of Hill 1, recognized different periods, but was astonished to find that the "Canaanite" ware apparently lasted for something like a thousand years. Here were numerous lamps ranging from the primitive bowl or saucer to the later kind with three or four snouts; also two clay tablets prepared for use but uninscribed. The second report does not enable us to determine how far we must modify the conclusions which are to be drawn from the earlier one.

best polished examples from prehistoric Egypt. The associations were with Egypt and the Mediterranean, not with Babylonia; bronze did not appear to be in use. According to Dr. Watzinger this culture is clearly Canaanite because it is only found in strata of the time before the "destruction" of Jericho, it ceases "suddenly" and has no connexion with the subsequent ware, whereas elsewhere in Palestine the Canaanite pottery is seen to develop into the Israelite (p. 29). Dr. Sellin, too, lays emphasis upon this feature of the archaeological history—a gap, which has not been observed elsewhere in Palestine, follows the fall of Jericho, and the site was used for horticultural or agricultural purposes until the rise of the later city (pp. 10, 32, 41). Prof. Vincent, in turn, marks the sudden interruption of life and of the archaeological evolution in the middle of the Canaanite period, and sees an immense hiatus between the destruction of Jericho in the thirteenth century and the daring of Hiel the Bethelite (1 Kings, xvi, 34 : see *Rer. Bibl.*, pp. 274 *sq.*, 278 *sq.*). This harmony between the Old Testament and the excavations is the more important because hitherto such drastic results of the Israelite conquest have not been observed; elsewhere, in fact, the biblical student can only infer that the settlement was a slow one, and that Canaanite culture, so far from being annihilated, was gradually assimilated by the immigrant tribes (cp. *ib.*, p. 278).

However, this conclusion, with all its interest for biblical history, can with difficulty be reconciled either with the Old Testament itself or with the evidence of the published reports. Naturally, it is impossible not to be struck by the vivid account of the capture of Jericho, the overthrow of its walls, and the destruction of the city by fire (Josh. vi). But, according to the available evidence, the excavators found that the walls were not entirely overthrown—even on the north (p. 19)—and they do not mention any signs of a considerable conflagration.<sup>1</sup> In point of fact, although we read that the devastation of the city was complete, and "only the silver and gold, and the vessels of brass and iron" were preserved (Josh. vi. 24), iron, it is now recognized, was not in use at this early period, and its introduction has been ascribed to the Israelites themselves.<sup>2</sup> On

<sup>1</sup> There were traces of burning in the "Israelite" stratum (p. 30), and the earlier report mentioned several indications of attacks (p. 68), upon which we have no subsequent information.

<sup>2</sup> Cp. the incidental remark of Prof. Vincent in his article, p. 279.

the basis of archaeological research, therefore, we must suppose that although Israelite history knew of some great capture of Jericho, the details of *our* record are not altogether trustworthy. Indeed, the most casual reader will observe that Jericho still continued to form a boundary-city, and that it is mentioned among the cities of Benjamin obviously as a habitable site (Josh. xvi, 1, 7; xviii, 12, 21). It was occupied by the Kenites (Judg. i, 16), and it goes without saying that "the city of palm-trees" held by Eglon, king of Moab, when he oppressed Israel, was no mere ruin (Judg. iii, 13). It was still a residential site in David's time (2 Sam. x, 5). Consequently, the statement that Hiel of Bethel "built" Jericho in the reign of Ahab (1 Kings, xvi, 34) need not necessarily refer to anything more than some work of fortification. The Biblical evidence, whether taken as it stands or treated on strictly critical lines, does not prove or demand that there had been any gap in the history of Jericho as a city, and indeed, on *a priori* grounds, it is very unlikely that so important a place would have been left alone by Israel or by Judah, or even by Moab.<sup>1</sup>

Incidental references combine with the archaeology to show that the continuity of the history of Jericho was not broken in the centuries which follow. The deportation of Judaeans in the time of Jehoiachin and Zedekiah did not mean a depopulation, and the small number of the men of Jericho in the post-Exilic lists (Ezra ii, 34) naturally throws no light upon the size of the city. Here Jericho is evidently associated with the new Jewish community, and in the account of the rebuilding of the wall of Jerusalem men of Jericho and the priests of the district find a place (Neh. iii, 2, 22). We have here a single area comprising Jericho, Gibeon, and Mizpah in the north, Beth-zur (4–5 miles north from Hebron) in the south, Tekoa in the east, Keilah, Netophah and Zanoah in the west. It is a period when we can still recognize the prominence of certain groups which had moved up towards Jerusalem from the neighbourhood

<sup>1</sup> Cp. Dr. Skinner, *Century Bible*, *ad loc.* "the place had not lain waste since its destruction by Joshua"; also the commentaries of Benzinger (p. 105), and Kittel (p. 136); and J. Boehmer, *Archiv f. Religionswissenschaft*, 1909, p. 324 *sq.* It is, perhaps, not a coincidence that this reference to the fortification of Jericho comes just before the outbreak of the war between Moab and Israel.

<sup>2</sup> These priests, and the company of prophets in the stories of Elijah and Elisha, and the clan of the Kenite father-in-law of Moses, are not without their interest for the religious associations of the district; cf. also Josh. v, 15.

of Hebron, and the evidence for a bond of union between Jericho and Judah may possibly find an archaeological illustration in the Socoh jar-handle noticed above (p. 61).

Later, in the Maccabean period, the district is again mentioned in our scanty historical sources. Jericho, like Gezer, was among the places seized and fortified by Bacchides (I Macc. ix, 50), and a fuller account of the excavations will doubtless include an investigation of the archaeological relationship, if any, between the remains at Jericho and the various Maccabean buildings discovered by Mr. Macalister at Gezer. The strategical importance of the city is also illustrated in the account of the treachery of the military commander Ptolemy, son-in-law of the high-priest (xvi, 12 *sqq.*). One of the most interesting features of this period is the friendship between the Maccabees and the Nabateans (v, 24 *sq.*; ix, 35), the powerful tribes who are not to be ignored in any study of the introduction of the Aramaic language and script (the ancestor of the "square Hebrew") into Palestine.<sup>1</sup> It is not out of place, perhaps, to recall in this connexion the jar-handles with Aramaic lettering (p. 60, above). Upon the grandeur of Jericho in Herod's time we need not delay. Of its hippodrome and palaces nothing remains, and it is to be presumed that, in addition to the disasters which befell the city, the invariable use of building material by subsequent inhabitants completed the ruin. The old site was occupied by a Byzantine settlement, and it is improbable that it had been deserted since the period of "Hellenistic" culture, although the Jericho of Herod certainly extended further a-field and is usually sought at the Wâdy el-Kelt. It is hardly safe to lay weight upon the absence of characteristically Roman remains upon the plateau itself; Dr. Bliss found a few specimens of the ware (*Q.S.*, 1894, p. 177), and the true lower chronological limits of the "Hellenistic" culture can hardly be fixed with certainty.

The chief archaeological phenomena at Jericho are (*a*) the cessation of certain kinds of distinctively Canaanite ware in the citadel, and (*b*) the distinctive features of the culture in the "Israelite" stratum at the Quell-hügel. Now, in the Quell-hügel three trial shafts revealed remains from the "oldest Canaanite" to the "Jewish" period, while in digging down the excavators passed from the upper, the "Byzantine," to the "Israelite-Jewish" stratum, where, however,

<sup>1</sup> The east of the Jordan appears to have been more Aramaean or Canaanite than Arabian (see Ed. Meyer, *Die Israeliten*, p. 307).

there were traces of the still older "Canaanite" walls (p. 11). The "Canaanite" ware of the lowest stratum resembled that of the citadel (p. 27). In the citadel the buildings dated from different periods, and some of the foundations even ran under the large double wall and therefore were older than it (pp. 14, 24). The citadel, in fact, seems to have taken the place of an earlier building (p. 26), while, at some later date a storied-dwelling had been erected on the space towards the northern end (p. 7). This appears to be the tower described in the first report (p. 67 sq.), where reference is made to its pottery of the "Canaanite" age and to twenty-two small unburnt tablets ready for use. In view of all this intricacy it is not surprising that the pottery in the citadel belonged to four closely interconnected periods (p. 27). If it contained a distinctive ware which comes to a sudden end (p. 29), it also disclosed an Aramaic jar-handle which was discovered in 1907 amid deposits which tempted Dr. Sellin to date it provisionally at about 1500 B.C.<sup>1</sup> In the settlement north of the citadel there was clearly a long and uninterrupted culture (p. 10), and although its earliest pottery pointed to a development from the old Canaanite, Dr. Watzinger's explanation (above, p. 63) is interwoven with a particular view of the early history of Jericho for which there is no real justification. The conclusion that the "Israelite" culture on the Quell-hügel is to be sandwiched in between the Hellenistic and this earlier culture north of the citadel is surely difficult, and the arguments seem to rely too much upon the *absence* of certain classes of material. Thus Dr. Sellin is inclined to attach some weight to the fact that Aramaic jar-handles (which belong to the late Jewish or Hellenistic age) are found with other objects of the period in the north of the citadel, but not a single example was found in "the Quell-hügel," that is to say in the older Jewish houses" (p. 40). Yet, we are not told that there is a gap between this so-called "Israelite" stratum and the Byzantine remains above it; the absence may be due to mere chance, and at all events one must know more of the jar-handle, from this place, which, it is said, bears five characters in Old Hebrew or perhaps Aramaic (*ib.*).

Dr. Langenegger suggests that the city-wall in the south is earlier than the more regular and skilfully built portion in the north (p. 18 sq.). The latter, too, is of superior workmanship to

<sup>1</sup> P. 38, cp. the earlier report, p. 70. The stone image in human form about 8 inches in height there mentioned proved to be unique (second report, p. 14).

the citadel, which, in turn, supplants an earlier construction. Was this citadel erected before or after the massive city-wall? It is conceivable that this doubly protected building was only necessary after the city-walls had become useless. This is suggested by the remains of the important building on the western side of the hill (above, p. 58); it is remarkable for its glacis, and its walls are spoken of as being later than the city-wall (p. 10 *et seq.*). Here, at all events, we seem to have some later attempt to fortify Jericho, but apparently no inferences as to date could be drawn from the deposits. Five different flights of broad stone stairs leading up to the hills on the north and west of the plateau appear to be later than the breaching of the walls, and it is very ingeniously suggested that they served to give access to the houses and gardens when, after the overthrow of Jericho, the site was used for agricultural purposes (pp. 10, 32). The first settlement north of the citadel is later than these, and Dr. Watzinger ascribes its earliest culture to the close of the second millennium B.C. (p. 62 above). If so, the interval between it and the assumed destruction of the old Canaanite city is scarcely enough to cause any appreciable effect upon the archaeological development, and if the remains show an uninterrupted settlement down to the Hellenistic period (p. 10, and above, p. 61), it is surely difficult to separate the earlier and later phases by the "Israelite" culture of the Quell Hügel which, in turn, lies in a series extending from old Canaanite (*i.e.* older than the north settlement) to early Byzantine (not represented at the north settlement).

The historical framework complicates the interpretation of the archaeological evidence, and one will await with eagerness the publication of fuller details which will, no doubt, elucidate those points which now seem obscure, and will supplement the numerous references and allusions which now awaken curiosity. Gladly would one know more of the strata in which were found the uninscribed tablets and the old jar-handle (p. 66 above), new links in the chain of the history of writing in Palestine. Most valuable, too, will be the more complete evidence which will elucidate the relation between (*a*) the "Canaanite" ware in the citadel, and (*b*) the older culture in the north settlement, on the one side, and, on the other, (*c*) the old painted pottery from Gezer and elsewhere, which is now found to extend into the monarchy. Most interesting of all will be a fuller description of the various distinctive finds mentioned in both reports which have already been found to

suggest external influences. That these are important for the archaeological history is recognized by the excavators who, however, are unduly influenced by certain views which, in my opinion, are open to criticism. In this connexion one must not overlook the proximity of Moab, and the evidence for its advanced civilization, and until we know more of its material culture, it seems unwise to ignore the part which it may have played in the development of the culture of Jericho. Moab is a factor, even though it be still an unknown one.

All who read the account of these German excavations, and consider the amount of solid material which has been brought to light in the course of a relatively small number of weeks, will agree that they have been eminently successful, and that rich stores of material undoubtedly awaits the expedition which is able to carry on the work of excavation to an end.

TABLES SHOWING THE MONTHLY MEANS OF METEOROLOGICAL OBSERVATIONS TAKEN AT TIBERIAS DURING 1907 AND 1908.

By Mr. RASHEED NASSAR and Mr. ELIAS BISHT.

Monthly Means, 1907.	Alt. Feet.	Temp. F.	Thermometers.				Rain.	
			Max.	Min.	Dry Bulb.	Wet Bulb.	Inches.	Days.
January	...	30°927	59°5	64°3	50°5	55°8	49°5	5°04
February	...	30°731	59	64°8	50°5	56°4	51°4	3°21
March	...	30°781	56°9	65°3	54°1	57°6	51°8	2°44
April	...	30°728	67°5	78°4	63	68°5	58	1°10
May	...	30°722	76°9	91°2	68°6	76°9	65	...
June	...	30°683	82	95°5	69°7	81°3	69°2	...
July	...	30°603	87°6	98°6	72	83°7	74°3	...
August	...	30°660	82°9	98°5	71°4	84°1	74°6	...
September	...	30°763	82°3	90°5	67°2	79°9	66°7	...
October	...	30°820	77°9	80°2	66°8	76	64°8	1°23
November	...	30°900	67	70°5	56°3	64°5	56°4	4°62
December	...	30°958	62°4	67°7	51°8	59°8	53°9	3°04
Year	...	30°772	71°7	85°0	61°0	70°4	61°0	10°08

Monthly Means, 1908.	Alt. Feet.	Temp. F.	Thermometers.				Rain.	
			Max.	Min.	Dry Bulb.	Wet Bulb.	Inches.	Days.
January	...	30°904	58°5	62°2	49°2	55°9	50°2	4°11
February	...	30°917	58°3	65°6	47°3	57°3	50°8	3°74
March	...	30°844	63°6	73°2	51°5	62°3	51°2	1°39
April	...	30°403	68	78°9	51°6	66°9	58°4	0°46
May	...	30°772	76°9	92°8	63°8	76°9	65°1	...
June	...	30°696	82°1	95°2	69°5	81°5	69°8	...
July	...	30°608	81°8	97°5	71	82°9	73°2	...
August	...	30°609	86°2	98°6	72°4	84°5	74°6	...
September	...	30°738	84°3	89°4	70°5	85°2	72°5	...
October	...	30°790	79°4	88°6	64°2	76°5	69	...
November	...	30°860	68°8	75°7	54°9	64°8	58	2°35
December	...	30°903	61	63°6	46°2	56°9	50°8	6°30
Year	...	30°753	72°6	81°7	59°3	70°9	62°2	18°35

## RAINFALL IN JAFFA.

By THE REV. JOSEPH JAMAL.

THE amount of rain which fell in Jaffa during the winter season commencing from November 2nd, 1908, and ending April 22nd, 1909, was as follows :—

	Inches.	Inches.
8 days in November, 1908,	3·15	against 4·00 previous year.
12   ,    December,   ,	8·45	,    3·50   ,
13   ,    January, 1909	4·40	,    6·95   ,
6   ,    February,   ,	3·80	,    3·85   ,
No rain in March,   ,	dry	,    1·71   ,
6 days in April,   ,	1·95	,    0·90   ,
<hr/> 45 days	<hr/> 21·75	<hr/> 20·91   ,
<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>

The winter season extended over 172 days, of which 45 were wet and 127 dry.

Since I commenced taking the observations in Jaffa seven years ago, the month of March has never been dry until this year. The following are the amounts of rain which fell in the said month in the last six years, from 1903 to 1908 :—

In March, 1903	Inches.
... 1904	2·76
... 1905	4·08
... 1906	2·00
... 1907	1·10
... 1908	3·75
	1·71

This year not a drop of rain fell in March, the drought causing a great deal of damage to the barley and corn, especially in the Gaza district.

## REVIEWS.

*The Schweich Lectures, 1908 : Modern Research as Illustrating the Bible.*  
By the Rev. S. R. Driver, D.D., Litt. D. (Oxford University Press, 1909.)

"The Schweich Lectures" are an annual course provided by part of the income of a Trust, founded in 1907 in memory of the late Mr. Leopold Schweich, of Paris, and administered by the British Academy. Its aim is "the furtherance of research in the archaeology, art, history, languages, and literature of ancient civilization, with reference to Biblical study." Prof. Driver, who was invited to deliver the first of these courses, wisely chose rather to give his hearers a synopsis of general results so far attained by recent research, than to devote his attention exclusively to some special section of the field. The way is thus prepared for his successors in office, and the lectures, published in the book before us, will serve as an introduction to any course that may follow, whatever its special subject.

In the narrow space of three lectures—covering in print (inclusive of the index and the lavish illustrations) less than a hundred pages—it would be unreasonable to expect full treatment of any part of the enormous amount of material with which a student of Biblical Archaeology has to deal, or even a bare mention of every one of its many sections. A selection has to be made: and it need not be said that Prof. Driver has made his selection wisely.

The first lecture is, as it were, introductory to this "introductory course," and is a sketch of the general progress of historical research in the regions affected. The vast discoveries of the nineteenth century are briefly passed in review. The countless inscriptions, both Greek and Latin, that have come to light: the excavations on famous classical sites and their results: and, in the more specifically Biblical fields, the decipherment of the Egyptian and cuneiform inscriptions: the progress of discovery that has unearthed, step by step, the remains of the civilizations of the Nile and the Euphrates, and demonstrated their antiquity and their degree of culture: and the more recent excavations in Palestine itself. Discoveries in Phoenicia, Palmyra, Moab, and Arabia, and Sir William Ramsay's explorations in Asia Minor, and the bearing of these on the Old and New Testaments respectively, are more briefly alluded to. Probably Professor Driver feels the problem of the "Hittite" hieroglyphic inscriptions a yet too uncertain to be mentioned, for no reference is made to these important documents; though on a later page there is allusion to the recent excavations and important discoveries at Boghaz Kui.

After this survey of Exploration, a similar statement is given of the progress of Philological Research; of the light thrown on the meaning of words by comparison with cognate languages, and of the valuable lexical and other results that have already accumulated from the study of the Greek Papyri.

The remainder of the lecture is devoted to a brief description of some of the most important discoveries of the past sixty years. Prof. Driver's definition of an important discovery is worth quoting, as it involves a truth often forgotten, though to a student of archaeology, it is a commonplace:—"the really important and valuable archaeological discoveries are not those which merely corroborate isolated Biblical statements, the correctness of which has never been challenged, but those which rectify or supplement the Biblical statements." Thus, an inscription which merely repeated the known facts regarding (say) a campaign of David would, in a sense, be less valuable than a collection of war-weapons and other objects which enable us to learn how the campaign was carried on.

On the special discoveries that Prof. Driver selects for mention, there is nothing now that can be said, within the limits and circumstances of the lectures; and most or all that we here read on the Shalmaneser Obelisk, the Moabite Stone, the Creation and Deluge tablets, and the Hammurabi Code, is a twice-told tale. The descriptions given of those and other "finds" are well illustrated, and foot-note references inform a reader where he can find amplification of the necessarily condensed particulars given him by the lecture. An admirable synopsis of the contents of the extraordinary Aswan and Elephantine papyri, found 1904-1907, and a brief reference to the Boghaz Kōi excavations under Prof. Winckler, conclude the lecture.

In the second and third lectures the subject of "Canaan as known through Inscriptions and Excavation," is discussed. It is remarkable how much detail Prof. Driver has succeeded in compressing into the less than sixty pages at his disposal. In a few paragraphs he puts his readers in possession of all the essential facts regarding the Tell el-Amarna tablets—the circumstances of their discovery, their contents, and the historical deductions to be drawn from them. Other important Egyptian documents referring to Palestine are then passed in review, including the stele of Seti I discovered at Tell esh-Shihab by Principal G. A. Smith, and first published in the *Quarterly Statement* (1901), and the much canvassed "Israel" inscription of Meren-Ptah. The Tell el-Hesy excavations of the Palestine Exploration Fund, under Drs. Petrie and Bliss, are then passed in rapid review, and the contents of this, the standard "Tell," briefly summarized. The rest of the lecture contains matter already familiar to readers of the *Quarterly Statement*, being devoted to the principal discoveries at Gezer (except the High Place, which is described in the third lecture), and illustrated with many figures borrowed from our Journal.

Canaanite religion occupies the chief place in the third and concluding lecture of the series. The high places at Petra and Gezer, the standing stones at Taanach and Megiddo, and the rock cuttings at Zar'a, Marmita, Nebi Samwil, and el-Jib are described, and some of them are illustrated. (And here almost the only questioning criticism that the book calls for may be made. In our opinion the author has accepted with perhaps a little too unquestioning faith the religious purpose of these and similar rock-cutting.) The so-called rock altar at Zar'a is probably nothing more than a small wine-press, injured probably by later quarrying; and we can explain all, or nearly all, the similar groups of cups and channels that abound on every hillside in Palestine, as being for similar utilitarian purposes.) We then proceed to the subject of sacrifices, especially the infant temple sacrifices and those under foundations of buildings. In connection with the former it was perhaps hardly worth while bringing forward the re-birth hypothesis quoted in a footnote to p. 69—which might legitimately explain rites among Polynesians or Veddahs, but scarcely among peoples so highly civilized as the Canaanites. (Does the re-birth doctrine appear anywhere in Semitic folklore?).

With the Philistine graves the stamped jar-handles (in describing which Prof. Driver expresses his belief that the disputed names Hebron, Ziph, etc., are names of *towns*, not of *men*), the tablets, and the Maccabean Castle, Prof. Driver brings his summary of the Gezer work to an end, after which he gives a concise description of Dr. Sellin's work at Taanach, its caves and rock-cuttings, its magnificent series of tablets, and its extraordinary terra-cotta altar (now one of the treasures of the Museum at Constantinople, and alone worth the journey to Constantinople to examine). In a few pages more, which end the book, there is a masterly synthesis of all the heterogeneous results of these excavations. Little is said about Dr. Schumacher's work at Megiddo; the excavations of Dr. Sellin at Jericho, and of Harvard University at Samaria, took place too late for any but brief reference.

We need say nothing about the scholarship of this work, for which Prof. Driver's name is a sufficient guarantee. The reader wishing for a short introduction to the subject of recent research in Bible lands may be referred to this work with perfect confidence. It can be read through in little more than an hour, but the ample footnotes give references that will guide the student further in his studies.

R. A. S. M.

*The Bible and the British Museum.* By Ada R. Habershon (Morgan and Scott, Ltd., Office of *The Christian*, London, 1909).

This little volume is likely to prove useful and popular. It takes each gallery of the Museum, room by room, and points out the objects in each which in any way illustrate or are connected with the events and incidents described in the Old and New Testaments. This it does

clearly and succinctly, the explanations being assisted by a photographic view of each gallery, showing the positions of the objects of prominent interest. The work is of course intended for those who have not previously been serious students, and it is well calculated to awaken a lively sense of the valuable services of Archaeology to Bible readers. Any visitors to the Museum, having this book in hand, can hardly fail to have their interest in both Bible and Museum aroused and enlarged; for Miss Habershon selects her subjects well and writes concisely, so that her chapters can easily be read in the rooms described. Should the book, as may be hoped, run to other editions, the author might perhaps consider whether it would not be wiser to cut out some of her contraversions of "criticisms" which few, if any, of her readers will have read, and of which the majority have probably never heard. Miss Habershon writes from a devout and evangelical standpoint; indeed that is evidently the cause of origin of the book. But, in so good a guide for simple folk, its purpose would perhaps be better served by leaving the critics alone—however, the book should prove most useful and deserves to be known.

J. D. C.

*Studies in Galilee.* By Ernest W. Gurney Masterman, M.D., F.R.C.S., F.R.G.S. Chicago, 1909.

We have been favoured by the University of Chicago Press with an early copy of a little book into which Dr. Masterman (now our Hon. Secretary at Jerusalem) has compressed an astonishing amount of the results of his close observation during the many years of his residence in Galilee. In constant touch with the natives and speaking their language, familiar with their manner of life and thought, a scientific man with keen powers of observation and a scholarly knowledge of the country's history, as well as an earnest student of the Bible, there is probably no man living so well qualified to give his readers a clear and interesting description of a district full of cherished associations for every Christian. Within the compass of some 140 pages of text, he here gives in considerable detail a valuable account of the Physiology and Topography of the district as it now is, with his deductions as to identification of those sites which have a special interest for readers of the Bible. He includes a chapter on the Fisheries of Galilee which has appeared in the *Quarterly Statement* of the past year; also a chapter on the Synagogues of Galilee, of which the ruins of several still remain visible. The book is well illustrated by photographs, and excellent indices are appended. The reader will probably feel the want of a more complete map of the district—for to those not actually familiar with the ground, topographical description is always difficult to follow. A charming little preface by Dr. George Adam Smith introduces the matter of the text. It is a subject for regret that the publishers have seen fit to

Americanize the spelling— even Dr. G. A. Smith's preface is not spared. Both he and the author are saddled with such words as "traveler," "center," "highroad," etc.; a vexation to English eyes.

J. D. C.

*Inschriften aus Syrien Mesopotamien und Kleinasiens. I. Arabische Inschriften.* By Dr. Max Van Berchem. Hinrichs, Leipzig, 1909.

The volume belongs to the *Beiträge zur Assyriologie und Semitischen Sprachwissenschaft*, and contains the Arabic inscriptions collected by Max Freiherr von Oppenheim in the course of his journey in 1899. The other inscriptions are to be published subsequently. There are here nearly 200 in all, and they are given in ordinary Arabic type, with translations and all necessary notes on the subject matter. Many of them are of great value for Mohammedan history and government: special attention may be directed to those from Amid (Nos. 114-125), in particular to the extremely important series in No. 124. From Damascus, Oppenheim collected very rich material for the archaeology and ethnography of the city and district; the inscriptions in question will be issued in the *Corp. Inscr. Arab.* It only remains to be said that Dr. Max von Berchem is a recognized authority in this field of research, and the volume is a most interesting and valuable contribution to the study of Mohammedan history in Mesopotamia, Syria, and Asia Minor, and one that will be welcomed, as much for the new and important epigraphical material, as for the mass of explanatory matter.

*Beiträge zur Geographie und Geschichte Galiläas.* By Dr. Samuel Klein. Haupt, Leipzig, 1909.

The priests of the Second Temple were divided into twenty-four classes, each of which devoted one week to the temple-service. This institution was supposed to be of very great antiquity (1 Chron. xxiv, 7-18), and, how or when it may have originated, the names of these divisions continued to persist in later usage. Many of the names are found outside the record in 1 Chron. xxiv, and it is also known that nearly all the families resided in Judaea, not far from Jerusalem. After the destruction of the temple in 70 A.D., these priestly communities left the district, carrying with them their tradition and ritual, and founded new settlements in the quieter districts of Galilee, which became the chief centre of Judaism about the second century A.D. Dr. Klein's monograph deals with the *kinah*-poem of Eleazar Kalir, a synagogue-poet of the ninth century, which gives a list of the Galilean cities and the respective families which occupied them. He shows that Eleazar's source contained the twenty-four names in 1 Chron. xxiv, 7 *sqq.*, and a few others (*e.g.*, Pashbur, Ginnethon), and that twenty-two of the place names can be located in Galilee, and that all but one can be identified. Dr. Klein deals with his subject in a very interesting and scholarly

manner, and the book has much valuable information on the geography and internal conditions of Galilee from the fall of Jerusalem in 70 A.D. to the last traces of these priestly families in the fourth century A.D.

*Palästina und seine Kultur in fünf Jahrhunderten.* By Dr. Peter Thomsen. Teubner, Leipzig, 1909.

Dr. Thomsen is known for his admirable bibliography of Palestinian literature, and for a series of summaries of the excavations in Palestine. In this little book, which appears in the series *Aus Natur und Geisterwelt*, he gives us a popular and concise sketch of the results of excavation and archaeological research. It is quite free from technicalities or detailed matter, is written in an easy and attractive style, and in spite of its very moderate price (1 m. 25) offers the reader thirty-six well-selected illustrations. After a brief survey of Palestinian research and the evidence for dating the various finds, he proceeds to handle the pre-historic period (pp. 11-22), the pre-Israelite (pp. 22-57), the Israelite (pp. 61-87), the post-Israelite (pp. 87-99), and the Roman-Byzantine (pp. 100-103). Dr. Thomsen endeavours to provide a synthetic treatment of the material, and weaves the results into a kind of historical framework, which is certainly in agreement with the Old Testament, but not so certainly in harmony with the trend of Palestinian history. He does not realize that those events which made the greatest impression upon the religious historians of Israel are less conspicuous in the history of the land of which the Old Testament is only a small part of its literature, of which the Jews were only one of the sections of the population. In spite of this, and of a certain lack of discrimination in handling the evidence, Dr. Thomsen's little book is extremely interesting and informing.

*Palästina-Jahrbuch.* Edited by Prof. Gustaf Dalman. Mittler, Berlin, 1909.

The fifth Annual of the German Evangelical Institute for Antiquarian Research in Jerusalem fully maintains the interest and utility of former Annuals. It contains six lectures and studies under the auspices of the Institute, and a lengthy and useful contribution by Pastor Rotermann on a journey through the land of the Judaeans and Philistines. Dr. Dalman gives a report on the year's work, and has studies on the Second Temple, based mainly on the Talmud, and also on Ps. xlvi, 7 and 8. Prof. Procksch, of Greifswald, describes the scenes in the history of David. Mr.—now Professor—R. A. S. Macalister gave a lecture before the Institute last March, a summary of which is here printed (in German). Pastor Reymann discusses questions connected with Gethsemane, and Pastor Siegmann briefly surveys Psalm xxiii in the light of Palestinian life and custom. There are several excellent photographs.

*Zeitschrift des deutschen Palästina-Vereins*, XXXII, 4, 1909.

Dr. Hartmann writes on the history of the Akṣā-mosque in Jerusalem. Dr. Hans Spoor describes the Nabi-Mūsa festival, a remarkable example

of Oriental religious enthusiasm which is extremely suggestive for the study of Oriental psychology in ancient times. Prof. Dalman deals with a few inscriptions from Jerash, the most interesting relating to a statue "of Zeus, the great Helios Serapis, of Isis, and of the other allied deities." Dr. Aaron Sandler continues the Medical Bibliography for Syria, Palestine, and Cyprus.

*Timbres Amphoriques de Lindos.* By Martin P. Nilsson. Copenhagen, 1909.

This volume, published by the Danish Royal Academy of Science and Letters, is an elaborate monograph on the Rhodian stamps, with a full list of those which come from Lindos. The book is the most complete treatment of the subject and will be indispensable in any discussion of these jar-handles. Thanks to his exhaustive survey of this class of object, the author is able to make many useful remarks upon those which have been published in the past, and to the collection published in the *Q.S.*, 1901, he contributes various emendations and corrections. His study includes the technique of the objects, the origin of the stamps, the character of the proper names, and the Rhodian calendar, and he suggests that the stamps, like those on bricks or tiles, served as property marks to prevent theft.

*Revue Biblique*, October, 1909. Prof. Vincent brings to a close his study of Jerusalem in the light of the Letter of Aristea, a useful article which no doubt is part of the prolegomenon-work to the expected volume on the archaeological history of Jerusalem (see the author's *Cinquant*, p. 3, near foot of page). The same writer contributes a critical review of Prof. G. A. Smith's *Jerusalem*, and a summary of the Fund's last excavations at Gezer, where he pays a very generous and appreciative tribute to Mr. Macalister's energetic labours and invariable courtesy. Prof. Vincent agrees that the figure published in the Jan. *Q.S.*, p. 15, holds a tambourine, and suggests tentatively a Cypriote model, but he questions whether the elegant musician represents a goddes. As for the clay tablet with geometrical pattern (*Q.S.*, p. 17), he would agree that it had some magical purpose, and with great skill he recalls the liver omen tablets, examples of which he illustrates, from Babylonia and Etruria. The decorated ivory inheya (*ib.* p. 21) have an analogy in the archaic Egyptian animal and human figurines, found especially at Negadah. Prof. Vincent also surveys M. de Morgan's recent book, *Les premières Civilisations*, calling attention to this remarkably interesting and powerful treatment of the early history of mankind. Prof. Abel continues the "Cruise on the Dead Sea," with interesting notes on the Lot-stories, on Ma'oumas, etc. Profs. Jausser and Savignac deal with "religious antiquities in North Arabia." The first is a Lihyanite sanctuary at Khirbet Khereibeh, north of el-'Ela. Here were found the remains of two large statues. The head of one

seemed to resemble a Mongolian rather than a Semitic type. It is suggested that the *atrium* of the temple contained a series of statues, and a great vat (already noticed by Doughty and Euting) recalls the basins placed at the entrance of the ancient sanctuaries. Passing over a fragmentary Lihyanite inscription upon a base intended for a statue, we may mention the bilingual inscription in Greek and Nabataean from Zizeh, to the east of Mâdâbâ: it is chiefly interesting for the dedication by an Ammonite to the deity Βελφε . . . , which irresistibly suggests a Baal of Peor, perhaps the Beel-ségor, who, according to Jerome, was the principal Moabite deity.

S. A. C.

## NOTES AND QUERIES.

### 1. Note on *Quarterly Statement*, 1909, pp. 276 *sqq.*

P. 276. *Minnith*.—It should be noted that the ruin *Baddîh* (*Menn.* *E. Pal.*, p. 146) is written with a strong final guttural. It has not a letter in common with Minnith. The ruin is insignificant.

*Abel-Shittim*.—The *Tellât el-Baid*, or "mounds of the white place," would represent the Hebrew Abez rather than Abila. The last letter is *Dad* = Heb. *Sade*.

P. 277. *Abel Chermim* can hardly be the Arabic *Karînein* ("the two little peaks"), as the latter is spelt with *Kof* not with *Kasf*. *Haddâdeh* means "bounds." I do not think it could represent Aroer.

*Jokdeam*.—The *J* in the English represents the Hebrew *Yod*; the Arabic *J* always represents the Hebrew *Gimel*. The name of the ruin is *Jokhdhûm* not *Jokhdhâm*. It is quite a small ruin.

*Mizpah of Moab*.—Personally I believe this suggestion to be impossible for a city of Moab. The name *Tell el-Maṭâbâ* ("the sealed mound") applies to ancient ruins, but the word has a final *Ain*, and cannot therefore come from Mizpah, nor from Maṣṣebah.

*Akrabbim*.—I can see no connection with *Debbâh*, which means "a tract of ground," not "scorpions."

P. 278. *Arabboth*.—The citation should be 1 Kings iv, 10. The district seems to me to be clearly in Judah, and the Sochoh noticed to be one of the two towns of Judah so called. I do not think *Yhem*, with a guttural, likely to be *Yemma*, which was probably Jabneel of Naphtali.

*Eben-ezer*.—In spite of Eusebius I think this monument must have stood on the ridge of Benjamin between Mizpeh (*Tell en-Naṣbeh*) and Jeshanah (*Ain Siria*), and not at *Dir el-Azaz*, though that place may have been the traditional site in the fourth century.

*Aphek*.—I gave up the suggestion of *el-Fikieh* when I found it was really spelt with the Arabic *Kaf* not with *Koph* as in *Aphek*.

I doubt there having been any *Aphek* in Sharon. The *Apuken* of Thothmes III (No. 66) is mentioned with Lod and Ono, and next to Sochoh (No. 67). This made me suggest *Fukin* (see my *Tell Amarna Tablets*, 2nd edit., 1894, p. 235). Josephus does not mention *Aphek* in his account of the death of Saul. For various places of the name see my article in Murray's *Bib. Dict.*

*Shen* (see Murray's *Bib. Dict.*)—‘*Ain esh-Shâmiyeh* may mean the “Syrian” or “the northern” spring. I think—in view of the LXX—that my suggestion of *Jeshanah*—just mentioned—is preferable.

*Beth Car*. I doubt the position assigned being suitable, and *Klein* for *Car* seems unlikely.

P. 280. *Jahzah*.—The Hebrew word is יְהָצָה. It has thus not a single letter in common with *Jâzel*. The English *J* is never the Arabic *J* as above remarked. Rujm el-Jâzel is not the site of a town, but of a small watch-tower on the road (*Mem. E. Pal.*, p. 206).

It would be well for any writer who suggests identifications of names on the Survey maps to consult the name lists for the Arabic words, and the Memoirs as regards the character of the site.

C. R. CONDER.

2. Mr. E. J. Pilcher has presented the Fund with an electrotype copy of a silver coin, in the British Museum, which seems to have an important bearing on the date of some of the jar-handle seals. It is a silver stater, of which the following is Mr. Pilcher's description :—



Silver Stater of Datames.

“It weighs 159·5 grains, struck on the Babylonian standard, at Tarsus in Cilicia, between 378 and 372 b.c., by Datames, a well-known satrap. The *obverse* shows Sandan, the Baal of Tarsus, seated on a throne, holding an ear of corn and a bunch of grapes. He is surrounded by a circle of columns to denote that he is in his temple.

"The reverse shows Datames seated and holding an arrow in his hand, as this was struck when he was preparing an expedition to march for the re-conquest of Egypt. Before his knee is a bow. Before his face is a device very like that upon the two-winged Royal pottery stamps. This seems to be a conventionalized form of the *ferouher* which figures upon the bas-reliefs of Darius Hystaspes and other Persian kings."

"The coin does not appear to have been noticed by any of those gentlemen who have written upon the Royal Pottery Stamps."

3. *A Greek Inscription from Galilee.* In reference to the Greek inscription published by Mr. Offord (*Q.S.*, 1908, p. 260 *sq.*), and discussed by Sir W. M. Ramsay (*ib.*, p. 339 *sq.*), Prof. W. Kubitschek, of Vienna, writes that the name of the provincial governor is Aelius Statutus. He reads φροντίδι Ἐλί(ον) Στατούτου τοῦ διασημ(οτάτου).

QUARTERLY STATEMENT, APRIL, 1910.]

THE  
PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND.

ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING.

The Annual General Meeting of the Society will be held at the Royal Institution, Albemarle Street, London, W., on Monday, June 13th, when the Chair will be taken at 3.30 p.m. by the Very Rev. the Principal of Aberdeen University, George Adam Smith, D.D., LL.D.

NOTES AND NEWS.

Died

ON THE 7TH JANUARY, 1910,

**GEORGE ARMSTRONG,**

Acting Secretary of the Palestine Exploration Fund.

Died

ON THE 16th FEBRUARY, 1910,

**CLAUDE REIGNIER CONDER,**

R.E., D.C.L., LL.D., M.R.A.S.,

Member of the Executive Committee of the Palestine Exploration Fund.

It is with the greatest regret that we have to record the death of two of our most valued members, Mr. George Armstrong and Col. Conder. Memoirs of these will be found on another page, and, in deference to an expressed wish, we do not give a portrait of Col. Conder. Mr. Armstrong, who died after a long illness during which he courageously endeavoured to carry on the performance of his duties, with his invariable unflagging interest, leaves a wife and five children (three of whom are too young to earn), for whom he was unable to leave adequate provision. The Committee appeal to Subscribers to contribute to a Special Fund which they are raising for the family; feeling that 38 years of devoted service make such help only a proper recognition of such long and useful assistance to the objects of the Fund. Cheques may be addressed to the Hon. Secretary, and crossed "Union of London and Smith's Bank."

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Consequent on the lamented death of our Acting Secretary, Mr. Armstrong, the Committee have had to face the difficulty of finding an efficient Secretary with a knowledge of Palestine and the work of the Fund. They have been fortunate in being able to make an arrangement with Mr. Archibald C. Dickie, who was for more than two years working with Dr. Bliss during his excavations a few years ago, and has since been a member of the Executive Committee. Mr. Dickie does not relinquish the practice of his profession as an architect, but will for the present give his mornings to the work of the Fund, and will be known as "Assistant Secretary."

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The Fund has also suffered a serious loss in the death of Osman Hamdi Bey, Director of the Imperial Museums in Constantinople. He took a very friendly interest in the Fund's work in Palestine, and was always ready to assist with his wide experience and knowledge of the East. His own researches were chiefly in archaeology, and through him the Constantinople museums became models of scientific classification and arrangement. We quote the following particulars from *The Times* of February 26th:—

"Osman Hamdi Bey, who was born in Constantinople in 1842, was early sent to study in Paris. There, in addition to acquiring the knowledge of Western jurisprudence which was his primary object, he found time to study at the École des Beaux Arts, and to

acquire that keen interest in art of all kinds by which he will be chiefly remembered. There, too, he acquired Western tastes and habits of thought, which were afterwards confirmed by his marriage with a French lady. On his return to Turkey he entered the public service and was advanced with more than usual rapidity, becoming in 1868 Vali of Baghdad, and afterwards filling various other important posts. Since 1888 he has been the representative of the Turkish bondholders on the Council of the Ottoman Public Debt. Before that, in 1882, he had been appointed Director of the Imperial Museums and had begun a work which won him the gratitude of all students of archaeology. He put a stop to the export of the antiquities found in the Turkish Empire, gathering them together in the museums in the capital, and made them accessible to students, whom he was always ready to assist in every possible way. When Dr. Eddy, an American missionary at Sidon, reported the discovery of the sarcophagi which now form the great feature of the Constantinople collection, Hamdi Bey hastened to Sidon and superintended their removal to Constantinople. They include the famous Sarcophagus of Weepers and the so-called Sarcophagus of Alexander. Hamdi Bey was himself an artist and has left many paintings, chiefly of Oriental subjects, of considerable though unequal merit. He collaborated with M. Reinach in writing *La Nécropole Royale de Sidon*. In Constantinople he was extremely popular among both Ottomans and Europeans, and his death will be regretted by a wide circle of friends."

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On the 5th of January there passed away the Rev. William Henry Rogers, D.D., at the age of 73, an old member of the General Committee, who often spoke at our Annual General Meetings. A distinguished scholar of Trinity College, Dublin, he held also an Oxford degree and, entering the Church, held various preferments until 1886, when he resigned his living owing to an affection of the throat, and subsequently lived a retired life at Bedford, where he was known as a close student of Dante.

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We have also to regret the death of another member of the General Committee, the Rev. George Edward Post, M.D., LL.D., who died at Aleih, Mount Lebanon, on September 29th, 1909. He was born in New York City in 1838, his father being an eminent

surgeon. He took his B.A. course at the College of the City of New York, studied medicine at New York University and theology at Union Theological Seminary. He served as Chaplain in the U.S. Army during the Civil War. He came as a missionary to Syria in 1863, where he commenced a brilliant career as surgeon, linguist, teacher and scientist. In 1867 he was called to the Chair of Surgery in the School of Medicine of the Syrian Protestant College at Beirut. Dr. Post was an author or translator of many books in Arabic; including text-books on Surgery and on Physiology, *Materia Medica*, and on the *Flora and Fauna of Palestine and Egypt*. He prepared a Bible Dictionary in Arabic and also a Concordance of the Bible. In English he issued a standard work on the *Flora of Syria, Palestine and Sinai*. He wrote articles for various Bible Dictionaries and was a contributor to many religious, medical and scientific journals.

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On March 9th, Dr. Duncan Mackenzie left London for Constantinople, where he will make a short stay before proceeding to Jerusalem. He will remain at the latter place for a few weeks to make arrangements for his summer campaign; and, having done this, will join Dr. Arthur Evans in Crete for a month or so, to complete his engagement, and thus to be free to commence the new excavations in Palestine on receipt of the Imperial permit.

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In response to the invitation of the Committee, Dr. Arthur Evans has expressed his willingness to be nominated at the General Meeting for service on the Committee, and his name will then be proposed. Dr. Evans' excavations at Knossos, with their remarkable contributions to archaeological knowledge, are world-famous, and his wide experience of ancient archaeology will make him a valuable addition to our List.

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The Headmaster of Uppingham, having applied for a lecture to be given to his boys on the subject of Palestine Exploration, Colonel D. Mills, R.E., has kindly consented to address them on the evening of Good Friday. It is much to be desired that other masters of schools would endeavour to arouse the interest of their pupils in this subject, if only because it gives the Bible a greater reality, and introduces them to a great field of research which is

very gradually setting the Bible in an altogether new light. If the attention of boys is aroused at a critical stage in their youth to what is being done by the Palestine Exploration Fund and kindred societies, they will thus be able to adjust their ideas, and will more easily realize that the Bible is gaining a more valuable and imperishable significance at the cost of relinquishing certain views which have grown up around it, and which often appear to be essential.

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Prof. Clermont-Ganneau writes (Jan. 19th) to suggest that in the Greek inscription published in the Jan. Q.S., pp. 40, 42, the proper name on the first line is to be read **CAKEPΔΩΤ[A]**, Σακέρωτα, the accusative of Σακέρως = *Sacerdos*. He points out that the name is well-known in Roman onomatology, and that he has found it in a Greek inscription from Tell Neby Mindu (*Byzant. Zeit.*, 1905, p. 20, No. 5), where mention is made of a certain Φλάονιος Σακέρως of Emesa ('Εμισηός).

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The Rev. J. E. Hanauer sends us the following bit of folk-lore told to him at Damascus by an old Effendi:—

"In ancient times the people of 'Ad dwelt in Damascus. They were idolaters and had two temples. One was dedicated to 'Ez-Zohra,' i.e., Venus. Its site is now occupied by the Jamia El-Kaymarieh. The other was where the Mosque of the Omeyyades now stands. In the latter there was an idol of steel. It was in the form of a man holding in one hand a cluster of grapes, and in the other stalks and ears of wheat and barley. (This reminds one of the coin of Datames figured on page 79 of the Q.S. for January, 1910.) This statue was a powerful *hijab* or charm. As long as it remained entire the corn-harvest and vintage in Bur esh-Shâm were always good, and the gathered grain and dried raisins never suffered from mould or maggots, etc. The statue did not stand on a pedestal, but hung suspended (like Mohammed's fabled coffin) from a great magnet in the dome of the temple. Thus it was neither on earth nor in heaven. There was a yearly *mawsum* or pilgrimage to this temple of the 'Adites, and fifteen thousand maidens from (*Belad el-Ajam, wa Belad el-Hind wa's-Sin*) Persia, India and China used to visit Esh-Shâm at this season. Their clothing was covered with precious pearls, but when they

visited the temple they stripped these gems off their apparel and cast them at the idol which was, as a result, buried under the heaped-up pearls. After the virgins had gone back to their own homes, the pearls were sold for the benefit of the servants of the temple. This custom was abolished when the Nasara (Christians) took possession of Esh-Shâm. They took down the idol but did not destroy it, knowing its value on account of the crops, etc. They, therefore, buried it in the ancient vaults underneath the temple containing the coffins and bones of the Sultans and Kings of the 'Âdites. However, when the Moslems took Damascus, and El-Walid had the rule, he had the image brought forth and broken to pieces. Since then the corn and other fruits have often suffered from blight, mildew, etc."

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In the September issue of the *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*, a report is given of a lecture by Prof. R. A. S. Macalister, at a meeting of the Society, on his work at Gezer. The lecture, which was very warmly appreciated, is of interest for the principle emphasized by the speaker, namely, that "experience of antiquarian research in other lands was really most helpful in promoting the same good work at home." In the introductory address, as also in the speeches which followed, the same note was struck and it was observed that the systematic method of carrying on the work of excavation, as illustrated by the results of the P.E.F., ought to be copied elsewhere.

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Mr. Joseph Offord has kindly sent the following communication : "As the *Sanctae Siliae Aquitanae Peregrinatio ad loca Sancta* forms part of the 'Palestine Pilgrim Text' volumes it will interest readers of the *Quarterly Statement* to know that some new fragments of these early travels to the Holy Land have been found in Spain and described by Dom D. de Bruyne. Unfortunately, only two short pieces of the new manuscript concern the missing portion of the mutilated Codex of Arezzo ; but, as is well-known to scholars, part of the lost commencement is supplemented by a patristic work, the *Liber de Locis Sanctis*. The new text came originally from Toledo but now is in the National Library of Madrid. There are ten pages in the manuscript containing topographical notes upon Palestine and Sinai, and these are taken from the *Peregrinatio*, or, as it is

now more correctly entitled, the *Itinervarium Eucheriae*. The total of the extract only amounts to about 34 lines of octavo print, but it is of value as proving the existence in the ninth century of another manuscript than the Arezzo one, of the *Itinerarium*. Since M. Ferotin, in 1903, published the correct name of the author 'Eucheria,' or 'Etheria,' much discussion has been carried on as to the question of her nationality, chiefly in endeavouring to prove that Gallicisms, or on the other view, forms of Latin only used in Spain, abound. These arguments are summed up by Geyer in 'Die Wirkliche Verfasserin der Peregrinatio Silviae,' in the *Archiv für Lateinische Lexicographie und Grammatik*, 1907, pp. 245 sqq. Recently, Karl Meister in the *Rheinisches Museum*, 1909, pp. 337-392, endeavours to bring down the date of the work from the fourth to the sixth century, and Dom Bruyne, whose notes form the basis for these, considers he has succeeded. See *Revue Bénédictine*, 1909, pp. 481-484, 'Nouveaux Fragments de L'Itinerarium Eucheriae.'

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Much interest was aroused in the Arabic astrological treatise published by Miss Gladys Dickson in the *Quarterly Statement* during 1908-9, and the Committee decided to issue it separately in book form. It will be remembered that it was a treatise by a Jerusalem Christian native, and was found by an Arab lying amid an accumulation of things in a house which he had bought. It contained a great deal of very curious material, carefully classified, and was in several respects quite unique. Miss Dickson prefixed a table of the star-names and added explanatory notes to the translation, and the reprint will undoubtedly be valued by those interested in the subject. It can be had by applying to the Secretary (price 1s., post free).

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It may be well to mention that plans and photographs alluded to in the reports from Jerusalem and elsewhere cannot all be published, but they are preserved in the office of the Fund, where they may be seen by subscribers. Those which were sent by Mr. Macalister, illustrating the excavations at Gezer and which were not reproduced in his quarterly reports, have been held over for the final *Memoir*.

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The income of the Society from December 15th, 1909, to March 16th, 1910, was—from Annual Subscriptions and Donations,

including Local Societies, £460 14s. 9d.; from sales of publications, &c., £68 8s. 3d.; making in all, £529 3s. 0d. The expenditure during the same period was £459 2s. 1d. On March 15th the balance in the bank was £901 12s. 11d.

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Subscribers who have not yet paid will greatly facilitate the Committee's efforts by sending their subscriptions in early, and thus save the expense of sending out reminders.

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Subscribers to the Fund are reminded that, whilst the receipt of every subscription and contribution is promptly acknowledged by the Assistant Secretary, they are now published annually, and not quarterly. A complete List of Subscribers and Subscriptions for 1909 is given in the Annual Report published with this number.

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The Committee will be glad to communicate with ladies and gentlemen willing to help the Fund as Honorary Secretaries.

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The attention of those interested in the subject of the Exodus of the Israelites is called to a new map of the "Desert of the Wanderings," from Mount Hor on the east to the Suez Canal on the west, and from Mount Sinai in the south to Beersheba in the north, which has been compiled by the War Office, and is based principally upon the sketch surveys of the Palestine Exploration Fund (scale 4 miles to the inch). In eight sheets, price 1s. 6d. per sheet.

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The first edition of Mr. Macalister's work, *Bible Sidelights from the Mounds of Gezer*, was quickly sold out, and a second edition is now on sale. It has been written to show how the results of digging in Palestine should appeal not only to the scientific anthropologist or archaeologist, but also to the Bible student who has no special interest in these sciences. The book contains a brief synopsis of the work of the Fund from its foundation to the present, and a description of the site of Gezer, and its history. Price 5s. 4d., post free.

The *Painted Tombs of Marissa*, recently published by the Fund, is now recognized as a very important contribution to the history and archaeology of Palestine in the last centuries before our era. It may be mentioned that the leaflet containing the result of the investigations by Mr. Macalister at the Tombs has been published, and can be had on application to the Secretary by those who possess the volume.

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*Golgotha and the Holy Sepulchre*, the last work of the late Major-General Sir Charles Wilson, K.C.B., K.C.M.G., F.R.S., D.C.L., LL.D., etc., is now ready. In this work the late Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Palestine Exploration Fund has brought together for the first time all the evidence which the most exhaustive research enabled him to collect bearing on the subject of these Holy Sites; and probably no man living had at once so intimate a knowledge of all investigations in the modern Jerusalem and so complete an acquaintance with what has been written about the Sites from the time of Constantine onwards. The price of the work (demy 8vo) is 6s., by post 6s. 4d., and cheques should be made payable to the order of the Secretary to the Fund, and crossed "Coutts & Co."

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*Judas Maccabaeus*, by Colonel C. R. Conder, R.E. This interesting little book was among those of which the whole edition was destroyed in the fire at Messrs. Bain's warehouse in 1907. It is now reprinted and can again be supplied (4s. 6d.) on application to the Secretary.

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The attention of subscribers and others is called to *A Table of the Christian and Mohammedan Eras*, from July 15th, A.D. 622, the date of the Hejira, to A.D. 1900; price by post, 7d. Also to the *Meteorological Observations at Jerusalem*, with tables and diagrams by the late Mr. James Glaisher, F.R.S. Tourists and all desirous of accurate information about the climate of Jerusalem should not fail to send for a copy, price 2s. 6d.

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The attention of subscribers is also called to a work by Sir Charles Warren, entitled *The Ancient Cubit and our Weights and Measures*. He brings evidence to show that all weights and

measures (except those of the metrical system) are derived from one source—the double-cubit cubed of Babylonia.

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Many readers will be interested to know that a reprint of Mr. Armstrong's book, *Names and Places in the Old and New Testaments*, is now ready. The book has been out of print for some years, but has been frequently enquired for.

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The *Flora of Syria, Palestine, and Sinai*, by the Rev. George E. Post, M.D., Beirût, Syria, containing descriptions of all the Phaenogams and Acrogens of the region, and illustrated by 441 woodcuts, may be had at the office of the Fund, price 21s.

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The Museum and Library of the Palestine Exploration Fund at Jerusalem are in the Bishop's Buildings, near the Tombs of the Kings, where the use of a room has been kindly permitted by the Rev. Dr. Blyth, Bishop in Jerusalem and the East. The Museum is open daily, except Sundays, and the Honorary Secretary, Dr. E. W. G. Masterman, will give all information necessary.

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Subscribers in U.S.A. to the work of the Fund will please note that they can procure copies of any of the publications from the Rev. Prof. Lewis B. Paton, Ph.D., Honorary General Secretary to the Fund, 50, Forest Street, Hartford, Conn.

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Subscribers and others may be reminded that the smaller Raised Map of Palestine, constructed from the Surveys of the Palestine Exploration Fund by the late George Armstrong is ready. It is on the scale of 6½ miles to the inch and measures 3' 6" × 2' 6". It has already been used with great success by Professors of Old Testament history, and by teachers in Sunday Schools, and may be especially recommended for large classes of students. On view at the office of the Fund; further particulars may be had on application.

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A complete set of the *Quarterly Statements*, 1869-1908, containing the early letters (now scarce), with an Index, 1869-1892, bound in the Palestine Exploration Fund cases, can be had. Price on application to the Secretary, 38, Conduit Street, W.

The price of a complete set of the translations published by the Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society, in 13 volumes, with general index, bound in cloth, is £10 10s. A catalogue describing the contents of each volume can be had on application to the Secretary, 38, Conduit Street, W.

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Photographs of the late Dr. Schick's models (1) of the Temple of Solomon, (2) of the Herodian Temple, (3) of the Haram Area and Justinian's Church, and (4) of the Haram Area as it is at present, have been received at the office of the Fund. The four photographs, with an explanation by Dr. Schick, can be purchased by applying to the Secretary, 38, Conduit Street, W.

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Branch Associations of the Bible Society, all Sunday Schools within the Sunday School Institute, the Sunday School Union, and the Wesleyan Sunday School Institute, will please observe that by a special Resolution of the Committee they will henceforth be treated as subscribers and be allowed to purchase the books and maps (by application only to the Secretary) at reduced prices.

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The Museum at the office of the Fund, 38, Conduit Street (a few doors from Bond Street), is open to visitors every week-day from 10 o'clock till 5, except Saturdays, when it is closed at 2 p.m.

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The Committee also acknowledge with thanks, among other journals and books, the following :—

*The Biblical World*, Jan., 1910 : Opening instalment of a summary of the results of excavations in Palestine during the last twenty years, by D. D. Luckenbill.

*American Journal of Archaeology*, Oct.-Dec., 1909 : Dated sepulchral vases from Alexandria of the third century B.C., by R. Pagenstecher ; The Tychaion at iş-Şanamēn in North Haurān, by L. C. Cummings.

*Neuvième Congrès International de Géographie*, 1908. *Compte Rendu*, t. I. (Geneva, 1909.)

*Échos d Orient*, Jan., 1910.

*Atti della R. Accademia dei Lincei*, VI, 9, 10. (Rome, 1909).

*Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique*, Aug.-Dec., 1909.

*Al-Mashrik: Revue Catholique Orientale Mensuelle*, 1909, December : The tombs of David and Solomon, after Arab writers, by Dom Giov. Marta.

Tables Décennales of the articles which appeared in the above during 1898–1907 ; and a summary of the contents for 1908–9.

**ΝΕΑ ΣΙΩΝ**, Nov.–Dec., 1909.

See further below, pp. 142 *sqq.*

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The Committee will be glad to receive donations of Books to the Library of the Fund, which already contains many works of great value relating to Palestine and other Bible lands. A catalogue of Books in the Library will be found in the July *Quarterly Statement*, 1893.

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For list of authorized lecturers and their subjects, *see* end of the Journal, or write to the Secretary.

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Whilst desiring to give publicity to proposed identifications and other theories advanced by officers of the Fund and contributors to the pages of the *Quarterly Statement*, the Committee wish it to be distinctly understood that by publishing them in the *Quarterly Statement* they do not necessarily sanction or adopt them.

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#### FORM OF BEQUEST TO THE PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND.

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I give to the Palestine Exploration Fund, London, the sum of \_\_\_\_\_ to be applied towards the General Work of the Fund ; and I direct that the said sum be paid, free of Legacy Duty, and that the Receipt of the Treasurer of the Palestine Exploration Fund shall be a sufficient discharge for the same.

**NOTE.—Three Witnesses are necessary to a Will by the Law of the United States of America, and Two by the Law of the United Kingdom.**

## MEMOIR OF COLONEL C. R. CONDER, R.E., LL.D.

SUBSCRIBERS to the Palestine Exploration Fund will have heard with great regret of the death of Colonel Conder on February 16th; to all his name was a household word; to many he was a personal friend. There was no one who had done more by his work in Palestine, and by his writings on the history and geography of the country, to increase our knowledge of the Holy Land, and to make the Bible a living book to its readers.

The son of the late F. R. Conder, Esq., M.I.C.E., Claude Reignier Conder was born on December 29th, 1848, and was educated at home and at University College, London. After passing with credit through the Royal Military Academy, Woolwich, he was gazetted as lieutenant in the Royal Engineers on January 8th, 1870, and then went through the usual two years' course of instruction for young officers at the School of Military Engineering, Chatham. At the conclusion of the course, under ordinary circumstances, he would have been sent to a station for corps duties; but Conder was not an ordinary man, and had already attracted attention by his skill in surveying and draughtsmanship and his knowledge of archaeology; qualifications which formed the basis of his future eminent career.

In 1871, the Committee of the Palestine Exploration Fund had commenced the Survey of Palestine, and had given the charge of the survey party to Captain Stewart, R.E., with Sergeants Black and Armstrong as his assistants. But, unfortunately, in December, 1871, Captain Stewart fell ill and was invalided home, and it became necessary to appoint another officer to succeed him. After careful consideration, the Committee decided to apply to the War Office for the services of Lieutenant Conder, although so young an officer, and, as some might have thought, without sufficient experience; but the result fully justified their selection.

In June, 1872, Conder embarked for Palestine, and, in the following month, took charge of the survey party at Nâblus, where he found that considerable progress had already been made by Mr. Tyrwhitt Drake and the non-commissioned officers.

In June, 1874, Mr. Drake was attacked by fever and died, and his place was taken by Lieutenant Kitchener, R.E. (now Viscount Kitchener of Khartum). The survey proceeded steadily until July, 1875, by which time the greater part of the work had been completed, when the party was attacked by the inhabitants of Safed, who endeavoured to murder them. Conder and Kitchener, with others of the party, were seriously injured, and the survey had to be temporarily stopped. Conder remained in Palestine until the criminals had been tried and punished by the Turkish authorities, and then returned to England, bringing the maps and the information respecting the country which had been collected, and which he immediately began to prepare for publication: a heavy task, which occupied him until April, 1878. In 1877, Lieutenant Kitchener completed the north part of the survey which had been left unfinished at the time of the Safed attack, and the whole of the results was published by the Palestine Exploration Fund, the map being printed by the Ordnance Survey on the scale of one inch to the mile.

The map and the volumes of memoirs which accompanied it afford to students of the Holy Land a mass of information respecting the history and geography of the country, such as was never produced before or since, and the work was well summed up by the late Sir Walter Besant in the following words:—

“It may be fairly claimed for the *Survey of Western Palestine* that nothing has ever been done for the illustration and right understanding of the historical portions of the Old and New Testament, since the translation into the vulgar tongue, which may be compared with this great work. The officer (*i.e.*, Colonel Conder) whose name is especially associated with these maps and memoirs has made himself a name which will last as long as there are found men and women to read and study the sacred books.”

After the completion of his work with the Palestine Exploration Fund, Conder returned to regimental duty, and was stationed in Scotland from 1878 to 1881, during which time he was employed in the construction of new fortifications on the Firth of Forth. But it was not long before Palestine called again for his services, as he was requested by the Committee of the Fund to take in hand the survey of the country east of the Jordan. On this occasion, Lieutenant Mantell, R.E., and the same non-commissioned officers as before were his assistants. It is somewhat strange that one of the latter, Sergeant Armstrong, who served the Society faithfully

for over thirty-eight years, and whose memoir appears in the present number, should have died so nearly at the same time as his former chief.

The survey of Eastern Palestine proved to be attended with greater difficulty than that of the country west of Jordan. Political relations between England and Turkey were strained on account of affairs in Egypt, and Conder found that the Turkish authorities refused to acknowledge the old permit as giving leave to map the eastern territory. But, notwithstanding this, Conder, who acted with great discretion, managed to survey about 500 square miles of country and to collect a quantity of valuable information before he was obliged to give up the attempt and return to Jerusalem.

Here an interesting duty awaited him. The Royal Princes, Albert Victor and George of Wales, accompanied by the Rev. Canon Dalton, were about to make a tour of the Holy Land, and Conder, who had been promoted captain in January, 1882, was requested to accompany the Royal party as cicerone. No better guide could have been chosen, as Conder was thoroughly acquainted with the country from Dan to Beersheba. The Princes first visited the Haram at Hebron, containing the burial-places of the Patriarchs, which, though usually closed to Europeans, was shown by special order of the Sultan; and then, after visiting Jericho and the Dead Sea, travelled northwards to Damascus and Beirut. An interesting account of their tour, written by Captain Conder, was published in the *Quarterly Statement* for October, 1882.

On the outbreak of the Egyptian war of 1882, Conder was selected for duty with the Intelligence Department of Lord Wolseley's force, and, embarking on August 5th, arrived at Ismailiya on August 21st, where his perfect knowledge of Arabic and of Eastern people proved most useful. The staff of the Department went on at once to Kassassin and were camped with the advance guard under Sir Gerald Graham. Conder was present at the battles of Kassassin and Tel el-Kebir, and took part in the pursuit of the Egyptians to Zagazig. Shortly after his arrival in Cairo he was taken ill with typhoid fever, and had to return to England. After six months' leave he resumed his work with the Palestine Exploration Fund, and prepared for publication the map of the country east of Jordan, and the volume of memoirs to accompany it.

These were completed by the end of 1883, and Conder was then ordered to Chatham for regimental duty, where he remained until

November, 1884, when he proceeded to South Africa with General Sir Charles Warren on the Bechuanaland expedition. There he had much work to do in connection with surveys of the country, and acted as Commissioner on the Transvaal border. His services were honourably mentioned in Sir Charles Warren's reports.

After the conclusion of this expedition, Conder returned to Chatham, and, in 1887, was appointed to the Ordnance Survey at Southampton where he remained until 1894, when he was sent to Ireland for employment on the fortifications of Borehaven, and, being promoted to lieutenant-colonel in the following year, was selected for the appointment of Commanding Royal Engineer at Weymouth. In 1899 he became brevet colonel, and, in 1900, was again employed on the Ordnance Survey in Ireland. He retired from the Royal Engineers in 1904.

Although his actual work in Palestine came to an end in 1882, Colonel Conder never ceased to study the geography, history, and archaeology of the country, and was the author of many books dealing with these subjects. Besides the Memoirs written in connection with the Surveys of Palestine, already alluded to, the following works by him were published by the Palestine Exploration Fund at the dates named, and, of some of them, new editions have since been issued:—*Tent Work in Palestine*, 1878; *Judas Maccabaeus*, 1879; *Heth and Moab*, 1883; *Syrian Stone Lore*, 1886; *The Tell Amarna Tablets*, 1893; *The Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem*, 1897.

Books by Colonel Conder, printed and issued by other publishers, included: *Handbook to the Bible*, 1879; *Primer of Bible Geography*, 1883; *Altaic Hieroglyphs*, 1887; *Palestine*, 1891; *The Bible and the East*, 1896; *The Hittites and their Language*, 1898; *The Hebrew Tragedy*, 1900; *The First Bible*, 1902; *Critics and the Law*, 1907; *The Rise of Man*, 1908; *The City of Jerusalem*, 1909. Colonel Conder was a constant contributor to the *Quarterly Statement* of the Fund from 1872 up to January of the present year, and his reports and other papers published therein afford a fund of information to all students of the Holy Land and of the Bible, who owe him a debt of gratitude for the light that he has thrown on many important questions.

Colonel Conder was married in 1877 to Myra, daughter of the late Lieutenant-General E. A. Foord, Royal (Madras) Engineers, who survives him. He has left one son and one daughter.



[To face page 97.]



GEORGE ARMSTRONG.

## MEMOIR OF GEORGE ARMSTRONG.

(BORN 6TH MARCH, 1843—DIED 7TH JANUARY, 1910.)

To not a few of our readers the death of our late Acting Secretary will bring something more than a feeling of regret. He was personally known to many subscribers, and there must be few of these who have not learnt to esteem him, not only for his wide and precise knowledge of Palestine, but for a simple and courteous amiability and helpfulness natural to the man. His memory of the topographical detail of the country was as remarkable as the modesty with which he imparted his knowledge to others; whilst in matters of business he was most scrupulously careful and exact. For some thirty-eight years he served this Society with single-minded devotion, and it is not too much to say that the work of the Palestine Exploration Fund was the enthusiasm of his life.

George Armstrong was born at Newlands, Newcastleton, in Roxburghshire, and, when a lad, was for some four years engaged in a Drapery business at Jedburgh, but when eighteen years of age he went to Edinburgh and joined the Royal Engineers (April, 1860). He proceeded to Chatham, and was there instructed in surveying and draughtsmanship. He must have made good progress for, when nineteen, he was sent to the Glasgow Ordnance Survey Office where he remained until, in 1863, he was ordered to the Island of Arran, in the Ordnance Survey of which he was engaged, as he was also in Argyllshire and in the Highlands, when he was practically in charge of the Survey, and acted as paymaster. In May, 1868, he renewed service at Southampton to complete twenty-one years. He was promoted second corporal in February, 1870.

In 1871 he was selected for his ability and high character to join the first Survey party for Palestine under Capt. Stewart, R.E. Serjeant Black and Corporal Armstrong left England on October 1st, 1871, and were joined by Capt. Stewart soon after arrival; but this officer unfortunately fell ill and was invalided home a few weeks later, and the two non-commissioned officers had to commence this important triangulation survey without an officer in command. So efficiently and industriously did they carry on the work, that when Capt. Conder arrived in Palestine in the following July his report was so highly favourable that the Committee passed a special resolution

conveying a message of approval. They had surveyed 560 square miles of country in about six months, and that in a trying climate.

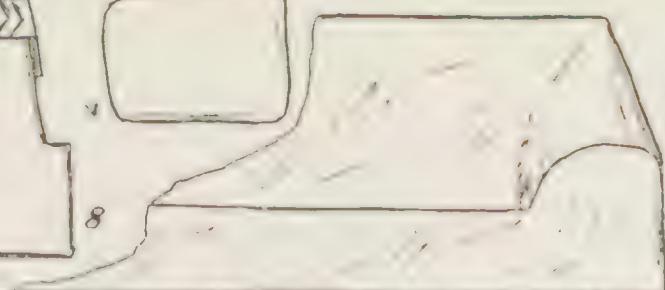
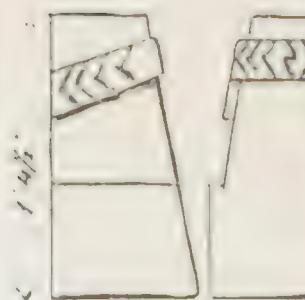
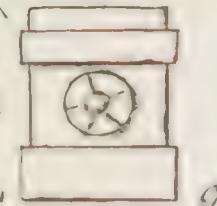
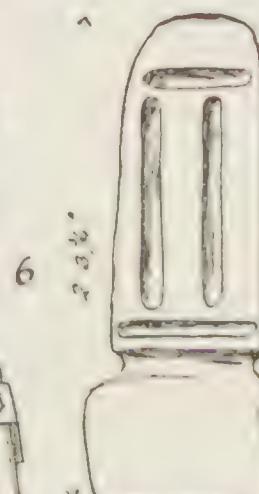
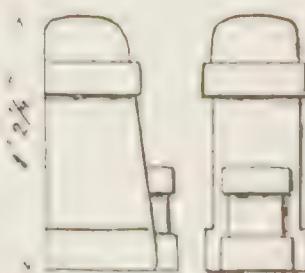
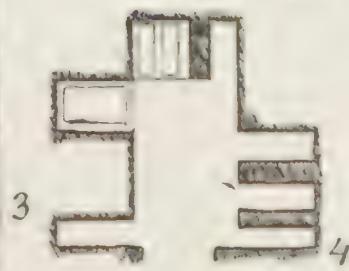
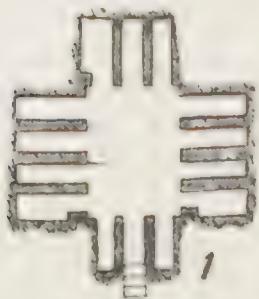
In June, 1873, Mr. Armstrong was promoted Corporal, and in October, 1875, Serjeant; and at this latter date his service in Palestine ended. During the later part of the actual survey he was working under Capt. Conder and Lieut. (now Lord) Kitchener. He became Colour Serjeant-Major in July, 1879, and was entitled to five good conduct badges, and received the good-conduct medal and a gratuity of £5 for long service and good conduct. At the conclusion of his twenty-one years' service in April, 1881, he applied for and received his discharge. In the same year he accompanied Capt. Conder to survey the country east of Jordan, the completion of which work was prevented by the action of the Turkish Government.

After his return from Palestine in 1875 he was still engaged under Capt. Conder and Lieut. Kitchener on the completion of the great Map of Western Palestine. In delivering this to the Committee in September, 1878, Lieut. Kitchener added some special words of commendation of Serjeant Armstrong's service, and the latter was then appointed to assist Mr. Walter Besant in the office of the Fund. When in 1887, Mr. Besant resigned his Secretaryship, he proposed that Mr. Armstrong should become the Acting Secretary, himself remaining as Hon. Secretary. Mr. Armstrong was accordingly appointed, 12th December, 1887, to the position which he held until his death, and which he filled with so much honour to himself and advantage to the Society. During this time, he not only prepared and brought out his valuable Index to "Names and Places in the Old and New Testament and Apocrypha" (recently reprinted), but also the large Raised Map of Palestine and another on a reduced scale, works of immense labour and care, executed chiefly at his own home, modelled exactly on the contours of the Survey, and for which he has been awarded medals in the International Exhibitions of Chicago and St. Louis.

In 1907 his health failed, and in the following year serious symptoms gave warning of paralysis. In spite of these, his interest in the work never diminished, and he continued at his post until within a few weeks of the end. No one can entirely replace his familiar knowledge of the Holy Land. He married in February, 1885, Matilda, youngest daughter of James Hill, of Highworth, Wilts, who survives him, as do their five children. J. D. C.



## Ard Khaldi



## ARD KHALDI, NEAR BEIRUT.

By PROF. R. A. S. MACALISTER, M.A., F.S.A.

WHEN in Beirut last October, I went to visit *Ard Khaldi*, a land belonging to the village of 'Abeih. This is a rugged, stony, rocky tract, some distance south of Beirut, lying on the slope of the hill at the foot of which runs the road to Sidon: immediately beyond



FIG. 1.—Winepress (?) at Ard Khaldi.

the road stretches the line of the sea-coast. Very considerable remains exist of a large settlement, and tombs, sarcophagi, and fragments of walls are strewn over an area that cannot be much less than a mile in length, north to south, along the lower slopes of the hill. The following is a list of the antiquities which I noticed on my visit; in searching for these I was much helped by Yusif, the Fund foreman, who being a native of 'Abeih is well acquainted with the site. It is desirable that such a list should be prepared and put

on record, for there are many new houses in process of erection all around, and old foundations are being recklessly torn up to afford materials for the new buildings.

A small modern Maronite church marks the beginning of the ancient remains, and makes a good starting-point for anyone visiting them. We shall commence at this point and proceed southward.

(1) In front of the church, a stone sarcophagus. On one side a rectangle, with triangular tags at the ends, in relief.

[Many such sarcophagi have been annexed by the occupants of the neighbouring houses, being taken from the tombs to serve as cattle-troughs. All those which I saw thus used are quite plain.]

(2) Just behind the Maronite church, a tomb of one chamber, 14 feet 10 inches by 9 feet 8 inches, and 5 feet 10 inches high. The doorway is approached by a sunk passage with steps at the outer end. There are thirteen large kôkim—one on each side of the entrance, four on each of the side walls, and three in the back wall. The outermost kôk in each of the side walls, and the left-hand kôk in the back wall, widen inside (Plate I, Fig. 1).

(3) Proceeding southwards from the church we came to a dry watercourse. Proceeding up it, and just before you come to a conspicuous *kharâb* or locust-tree, you will find a knoll of rock with a hollow in the side towards the watercourse. In the middle of the hollow is the mouth of a cistern; this is unfortunate, as it prevents one from getting close to a Greek inscription on the wall of rock above. This is cut in large letters, and I spent a considerable amount of time over it. The following is what I made out—

E Π: T  
A I C E  
ΛΜ Α

which is not very intelligible. There does not appear to have been any more than the letters above given, which are worn, but conspicuous. No trace of other characters appears on the sides of the inscription. The general aspect of the place will be understood from the sketch (Plate I, Fig. 2).

(4) Beside the same watercourse and below No. (3), a cave, mostly natural, partly blocked to serve as a cow-house.

(5) A little south-west of No. (4) two shallow graves side by side, sunk in the rock. The cover-slabs are gone, and the graves emptied.

(6) Just above No. (5) an unfinished tomb.

(7) To the south of the knoll with inscription a winepress (?) represented in the photo, Fig. 1. It is a rectangular sinking in the rock, 2 feet 3 inches deep, 3 feet 4½ inches broad at the top, and 2 feet 9 inches broad at the bottom. The length is 6 feet 1½ inches, not inclusive of a narrower, shallower passage, leading into the



FIG. 2.—Waterecourse.

excavation. This is seen in the foreground of the picture. To the south (right-hand side in photograph) of the main sinking is a circular vat, 1 foot 6 inches across and 8 inches deep.

In the middle of the end wall of this sinking (that in the background of the photograph) is a sunk panel, 11 inches high and 12½ inches deep. In this is cut a human face in relief. To the right of this is a defaced inscription in three lines: except **INO . . . . | IW(?)CP . . . .** at the beginnings of the first two lines I could make nothing of this, though I devoted the greatest

possible attention to it. On the south side of the sinking, and 4 feet 10 inches from the wall containing the inscription, is a step, just above which is carved a representation of a boy, his hands covering the lower part of his body, running (?) between two rudely-outlined bulls' skulls (Plate I, Fig. 3).

(8) A few paces to the south of No. (6) a chamber with five kôkim in each side and three in the end. These kôkim are much wider and higher than those in the Palestine tombs, being designed for receiving stone sarcophagi. One of these still remains in the third kôk in the right-hand side.

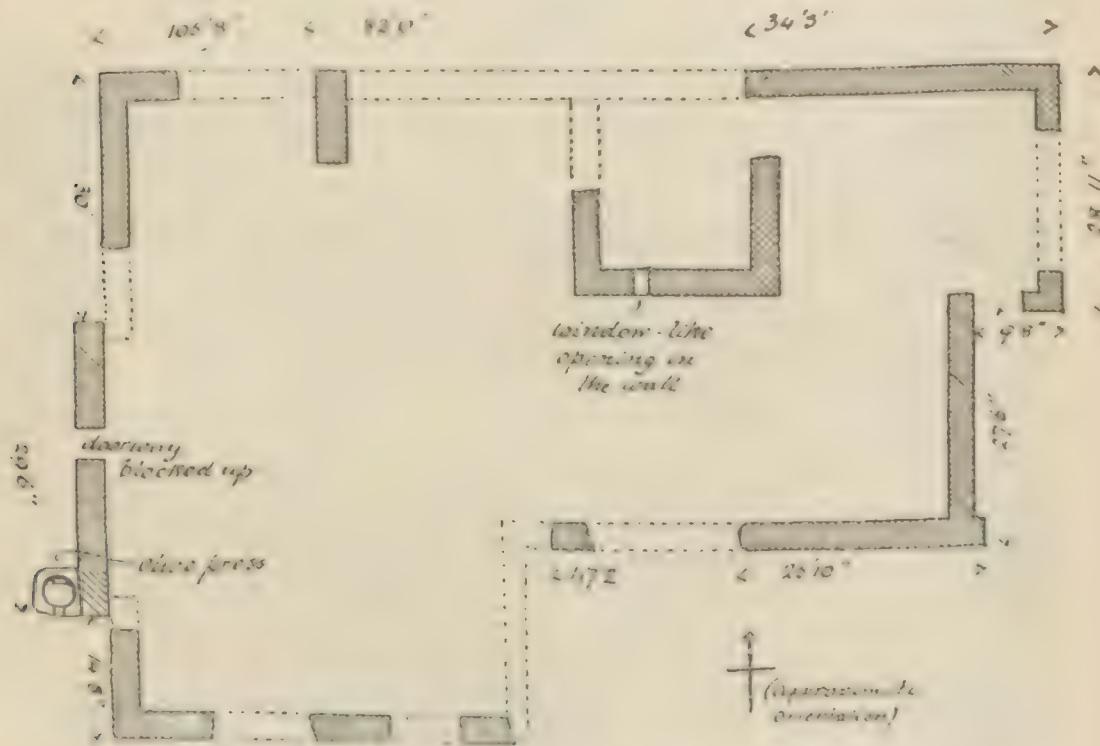


FIG. 3.—Plan of Building at Ard Khaldi.

(9) Just south of this tomb is the entrance to another, measuring 19 feet 4 inches by 11 feet 4 inches. The floor is so much cumbered with rubbish that the height cannot be ascertained. There are three kôkim on the right-hand side, one containing a sarcophagus; and one plain kôk and another with a sunk grave in it on the left. In the back wall is a kôk and a recess containing two sunk graves. The plan is shown in Plate I, Fig. 4, and the decoration on the end of the surviving sarcophagus in Plate I, Fig. 5.

(10) A little further south, a shallow sunk grave.

(11) Proceeding down the rock, in the direction of the roadside khan, we came to a cave-mouth, facing south. This is a large natural cave, which has been built up with masonry on the inside. The masonry, however, is rapidly being removed for building, and the cave I found so full of *debris* that it was impossible to determine which its purpose was. Probably, however, it was a tomb.

(12) Among the *debris* outside this cave there were lying on the day of my visit (15th October, 1909) a section of the drum of



FIG. 4.—Remains of a Building at Ard Khaldi.

a marble column and two stones (Plate I, Figs. 6, 7), no doubt domestic altars. Above this cave-mouth the rock is quarried.

(13) Another cave, close by, the mouth facing towards the sea. This is an oblong chamber with four *kôkim* in each side and three in the back wall. A sarcophagus, quite plain, remains in the first *kôk* on the right. The wall of this whole cave is covered with cement, and the surface, both in the chamber itself and inside the *kôkîm*, is covered with an ornamental pattern of zigzag lines.

(14) Proceeding yet further south, and passing a hollow in the hill behind the khan, we come to three sarcophagi and a couple of

sunk graves, one of them with a fragment of the cover-slab still upon it. The rock is quarried behind this as far as the telegraph wire.

(15) Further south I found a circular space marked out with stones (modern, to serve as a threshing floor). Some of these stones are pieces of door-thresholds from the ruins, and one of them is a small domestic altar (Plate I, Fig. 8). Another similar stone



FIG. 5.—Private Altar.

(Plate I, Fig. 9) was seen lying a little higher up the hill; near it was a wall on which was lying a fragment of a volute from an Ionic capital.

(16) Yet further south, passing on the way one or two sunk graves and sarcophagi unnecessary to specify singly, we reach a second watercourse. This is spanned by a great slab of stone, 13 feet 6 inches long and 7 feet 8 inches broad, laid to serve as a footbridge (Fig. 2).

(17) This bridge leads to the foundation of what was evidently a very important building. It was constructed of large stones—one, for example, 9 feet 9 inches long. With a good deal of trouble I determined the general lines of its plan, which seems worth recording (*see* Fig. 3), as probably even what little is left above ground will disappear as a result of building operations. Excavation would be necessary to determine fully the arrangement and purpose



FIG. 6.—Sarcophagus at Ard Khaldi.

of this building, which is most likely some kind of temple or palace. Fig. 4 gives an idea of the general character of the masonry.

(18) Just below the building No. (17) is a sarcophagus ornamented like that described under No. (1). This example is thrown upside down and broken in two.

(19) Close by, a house built of tiles, round and square, has recently been torn in pieces by masons hunting for building stones. There was a large millstone lying here, and a fragment of marble.

(20) Several rock-cuttings, not remarkable in any way (quarries chiefly), intervene between the large building No. (17) and the south end of the ruin.

(21) In the field, south of the khan, a fluted column drum was standing on end by the road side. In the same field was a domestic altar (Fig. 5), about 2 feet 6 inches high, resembling the others. There were many fragments of mosaic lying about here. Several mosaic pavements, or fragments of such, were found by builders, but all were at once destroyed, probably for fear of government interference with the work of rooting out the ruins.



FIG. 7.—Fragment of a Sarcophagus.

(22) In the south face of a knoll of rock behind the fluted pillar, a square recess is quarried, 4 feet 6 inches by 4 feet 6 inches by 5 feet 4 inches high. In the back wall is a niche for a lamp.

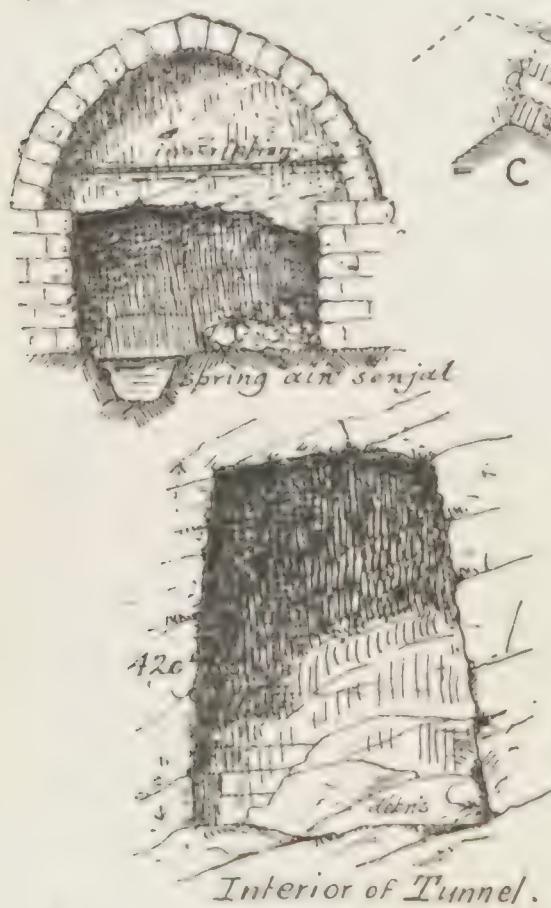
(23) In the same knoll, on the top, a grave is excavated, covered by a coped stone with acroteria.

(24) North of No. (23), a group of sarcophagi, and south of it another; plain.

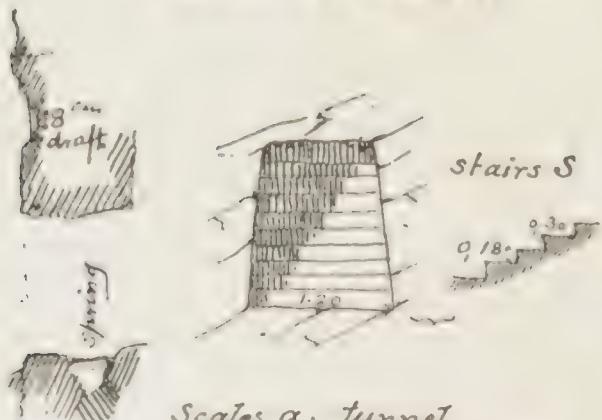
(25) At the south end of the ruin, a sarcophagus much broken (Fig. 6) stands up conspicuously. One side has been ornamented



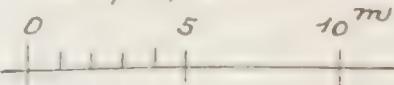
Entrance



Interior of Tunnel.



Scales,  $\alpha.$ , tunnel



b. details



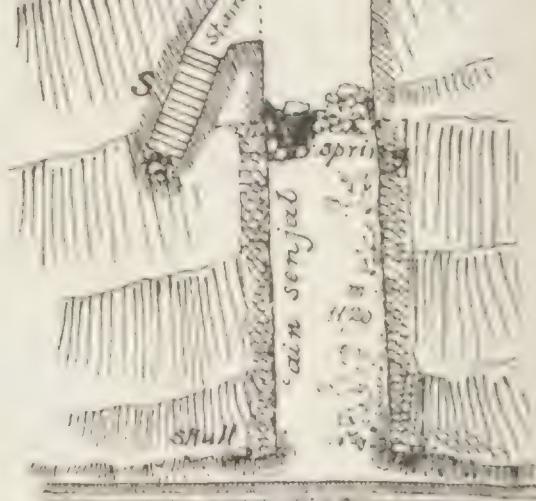
Tunnel

below  
Khirbet  
Belameh

tamp hollows  
0.20  
0.15

A air hole

Z lamps



new road



wadi Belameh

G. Shumaker

Sketches and Plans of the Water Passage of Khirbet Bel'ameh.

with three panels, coarsely carved, the central panel containing a genius, the two outer panels a bust. The top, with acroteria, remains. The diagram (Plate I, Fig. 10) shows the detail of the ornament.

(26) Close by the latter, fragment of a sarcophagus with a panel having triangular tags and a wreath (Fig. 7).

(27) Near the south end of the ruin a straight channel in the rock, 2 feet wide, now full of earth—perhaps part of an aqueduct. It is about 30 feet long.

Beside one of the telegraph posts, among a large number of sarcophagi which are quite plain, there is one bearing a palm-branch on its side.

## THE GREAT WATER PASSAGE OF KHIRBET BEL'AMEH.

By DR. G. SCHUMACHER, Haifa.

WHILE laying out the carriage road which is now in course of construction between Jinîn and Nâblus, I halted at *Ain Senjal*, and explored the “cave” of which, on the previous day, my native companions had given me such attractive accounts. The inhabitants of Jinîn spell the name of the spring *Ain* or *Bir Senjal*, or *Sinjal* (سنجل). A Bedouin shepherd, to whom I always fly when in dialectic difficulties, called out *Ain Senjar* (سنجار), which probably is the more correct. Sheet VIII of the Great Map of the P.E.F. spells it *Bir es-Sinjib*. Guérin, *Samarie*, I, 341, writes *Bir es-Senjem*; Baedeker's Map of Palestine gives *Bir Belameh*.<sup>1</sup> It is situate one mile and a quarter south of Jinîn, on the left hand of the narrow valley Wâdy Bel'ameh, close to the ancient and modern main road.

A doorway, opening towards the east, covered with a pointed arch vault of 3·50 metres (about 11½ ft.) in height, 3 metres (nearly 10 ft.) wide, and still 11·20 metres (nearly 37 ft. long), connected the main road with the water-place, and protected it from *dbris* rolling down the hill side (Fig. 1). The present level of the spring is about equal to that of the dry summer bed of Wâdy Bel'ameh: the vaulted passage may, therefore, once have served as a canal connecting both; heaps of earth and of pottery are now

<sup>1</sup> So in *P.E.F. Mem.*, Vol. II, p. 51, quotes Guérin.

accumulated before the spring, over which we step in descending to the water. The latter is good and very plentiful, and although large flocks are being constantly watered, the surface does not sink any lower.

The arched doorway is partly fallen. The masonry seems to be Arabic and the foundations probably of the Crusading period. Among the pottery excavated by a road-cutting close to the spring<sup>1</sup> I found Roman *terra sigillata*, Roman glass, Israelite and pre-Israelite fragments, layers of ashes, parts of a human body, including an



FIG. 1.—Entrance to Cave at Khirbet Bel'amah.

infant's skull, and, near the surface, masses of Arabic jar fragments. My overseers found a few broken Roman pottery lamps and a haematite seal-stone without any carvings.

The natural limestone rock overhangs the spring, and its eastern surface ends just above the water.<sup>1</sup> Debris and small building

<sup>1</sup> On this surface I remarked a horizontal draft cut into the rock which runs across the rock lintel, and which once bore an inscription. The draft is 8 centimetres high. The totally defaced letters seem to have been Latin or Greek, *a* (and *f*) *r* being visible. This inscription seems to be contemporary with the foundation-masonry of the arch, but is certainly not as old as the tunnel.

stones surround the spring; to its right a low passage of not more than 2 feet in height gives access to the interior, which, immediately behind the spring, opens to a height of 4·20 metres (nearly 14 ft.), and a width of 3 metres (nearly 10 ft.). By aid of candle-light and burning thorn bushes, we were able to trace this remarkable subterranean excavation, which has a striking resemblance to the great tunnel discovered at Gezer, which Prof. Macalister was good enough to show me in the autumn of 1907. The accompanying plan illustrates the *mughāra*, or "cave," which, according to the statements of the neighbouring fellahin, leads up to Khirbet Bel'améh (خربة بلامع), a ruin situate on the top of the mountain, at the foot of which 'Ain *Senjal* is found.

I have been able to follow the tunnel to a length of about 30 metres (98 ft.), and can vouch for its continuation in the direction of Khirbet Bel'améh, or Bil'am (بلام), as others pronounce it. To the left of the tunnel entrance we found a staircase 1·20 metres (3 ft. 11 in.) wide, the steps being cut out of the rock and having a height of 18 centimetres (about 7 in.) and a width of 30 centimetres each (nearly 1 ft.). These stairs form a sideway of the main tunnel, which evidently led to a now hidden entrance, and a little above 'Ain *Senjal*. The top of the staircase is blocked with stones and *debris*.

The main tunnel shows, in its part nearest the spring, traces of rock-cut steps, now covered with heaps of skeletons of bats; these creatures abound in the cave, and fly wildly about us as we disturb their abode. Eleven metres (about 36 ft.) from the spring the tunnel turns at A to the south-east, at an angle of about 120 degrees; at this bend we see in the ceiling an air-hole of about 60 by 70 centimetres (24-27 in.) in width, leading to the surface of the hill slope, but now blocked with stones; our guides call it *rāzany*, and pretend that iron rings or hooks are fastened into the masonry lining the top part of the air-hole. This designation was also given to the air-holes of the subterranean city of *Dera'ah*, in Hauran (cp. *Across the Jordan*, p. 135 sq.). The heaps of remains of animals, bones and ashes increase as we continue, and we sink into them to our knees, the rock steps disappearing consequently. The next nine metres lead us to remains of masonry on the right side of the tunnel; here, at B (cp. sketch), it turns again to the left at an angle of about 110 degrees, and continues for ten more

metres to C, where, again, masonry appears and now completely blocks the tunnel. The angle to the left at C is of about 100 degrees. The masonry seems to be Arabic, and may have formed an abode for highwaymen of the days of Jerrâr, in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, when Wâdy Bel'amch was renowned for its



FIG. 2.—Monolith in the Wady Bel'amch. View from the East.

hiding places for men of that profession, as it still is at the present day.

In the sides of the tunnel lamp holes are carved out of the rock, some (*l*) are 15 centimetres high and 20 centimetres wide; others (*o*) are as much as 60 centimetres deep.

Excavations would certainly result in interesting discoveries, but we can already learn from the above description that Khirbet Bilām may date back as early as Gezer or Tell el-Mutesellim (Megiddo), for I feel certain that the absence of large cisterns will finally lead to the discovery of a similar subterranean waterway at Megiddo, as it has at Gezer.

Regarding the identification of this place with Bileam (1 Chron. vi, 70), see *Memoirs Palestine Exploration Fund, Samaria*, Sheet VIII, Section B, p. 51. Guérin, *Samaria*, I, p. 341, gives a short account of the "Souterrain." It is certainly worth while being explored.



FIG. 3.—View of Monolith from the West.

About four hundred paces up the valley from 'Ain *Senjal*, a remarkable large limestone monolith is embedded in the Wâdy Bel'amch, called *Hajr el-Attrash*, "The Deaf Stone," *cp.* Fig. 2, view from the east, and Fig. 3, view from the west. The monolith has still a height of 1.80 metres to 1.90 metres (5 ft. 11 in. to 6 ft. 2 in.), its flat top measures 2.40 metres (about 7 ft. 9 in.) across, and contains two oval cups, each 23 centimetres long, 12 centimetres wide, and 11 centimetres deep (about 9 in. by 4½ in. by 4½ in.). A peculiar projection appears on the northern part of the

large stone, and overhangs a niche cut into the northern face of the rock. The niche has a height of 1·30 metres, a width of 1·15 metres, and a depth of 0·50 metres (about 4 ft. 3 in. by 3 ft. 8 in. by 19 $\frac{3}{4}$  in.). The great block, which attracts one already from the distance, is said to have been a place of worship, "of the days of el-Kussar" (the un-believers, the idolaters), as its name signifies. It seems to me to have been an altar, the niche probably containing an idol, or being left empty to receive offerings; it may also represent an Israelite boundary stone.

## A CAUSEWAY ACROSS THE DEAD SEA, AND A MOABITE MONOLITH.

By A. FORDER, Jerusalem.

IT is not long since that I returned from a tour among the Arabs of Moab and the eastern shores of the Dead Sea, and probably some of the things I saw and learned will be of interest to the readers of the *Quarterly Statement*.

Whilst in the Ghôr es-Sâfîeh, I made enquiries about the causeway that once connected the Lisân with the western shore of the sea. I was assured that such a thing had really existed, and was remembered by many of the men to whom I talked. One old man said he was willing to take me to the spot from which this causeway once started, and, as he assured me that he had many times traversed the road himself, I agreed to accompany him and see for myself what there was to substantiate such a report.

Leaving the camp one morning at nine o'clock, mounted on mules, we made off due west across the Lisân, and in exactly two hours reached the water's edge at the narrowest point. On the way we passed the remains of what my guide told me were once guard-houses for the protection of the caravans that traversed and traded between Moab and Hebron. All the way from the camp to the water's edge was a well defined road consisting of many tracks, well preserved, because of the little rainfall and the non-use of the track in these days.

From observations made whilst on the way, and from what the old man pointed out and told me, it is safe to say that this ancient road and causeway ran almost direct from the outlet of the Wady Kerak across to the Wady Imburghngh; this is what might be expected, for an abundant supply of cold clear water is found in both these valleys, and, in such a region, both man and beast would need such provision.

There was no trace of anything that suggested an old-time crossing, and on questioning my Arab guide as to why there was nothing to be seen, he told me that the water had increased to such an extent that the stone crossing was submerged deeper than a man, and he assured me, in his way of putting it, "that when the hair first appeared on his face, it was so narrow that the people of his tribe used to sit on the edge of the Lisân and parley with Arabs from the west as to the return of cattle that had been stolen by one or other of the parties."

He also assured me that, when he was young, the water was so shallow at this place that large caravans of camels and mules used to be driven from side to side through the water, whilst sheep, goats, and men used to cross on the bridge. I tried to get from him some idea as to how long ago the causeway was submerged, and the best I could gather was, about forty-five or fifty years ago. It might almost be inferred from the writings of De Sauley, who explored the Dead Sea in 1853, and Lynch in 1848, that, before their expeditions, the causeway had been submerged, but that there was such, at one time, is certain, for I have met and know many Arabs who have a distinct memory of it, and who, like my guide, had frequently crossed it.

I asked the old man if he could find the road now, and his reply was, "give me a boat and I will stand over it within an arm's length."

The shore at this point was piled up with driftwood, and pieces of sulphur were plentiful, as also were good sized lumps of bitumen.

The place where the crossing was is called by the Arabs of the district *im-gayta*, which is equivalent to "the cut across."

On our return I was taken off the road to several points, and had shown me several tracks of land, now submerged, which the family of my guide used to cultivate. He showed me visible proof of what he said by pointing to numerous good-sized trees that still grew, although deep in the water of that mysterious lake, and he assured

us that when he was a young man, he, and his companions, used to hunt wild boar among the trees and undergrowth now covered with water. These facts prove conclusively that the sea has made tremendous rises landward, and it would be very interesting to find out the exact depth under the water the causeway is. Fig. 1 shows the inroad of the water at Ghôr el-Mezra'a.

Whilst on the uplands of Moab, east of Kerak, I was able to examine minutely something, the existence of which I had known



FIG. 1.—Ghôr el-Mezra'a.

for several years. It is a huge monolith, not far removed from the extensive ruins of El-Hudr. As seen from the reproduced photograph (Fig. 2) the stone is wider at the bottom than at the top, its widest measure being about 64 inches, tapering to about 28 inches. It is about 16 inches thick all through, and as near as I could judge, some 17 or 18 feet high. It faces due east, and is on a small eminence, and is visible for miles around.

On the north side, only a few yards away, is a similar stone which has fallen on its side, and points due north; in dimensions it

is just about the same as its companion, and no doubt at one time stood erect.

The stone is called by the Arabs *hajr serbût*, which, in trans-



FIG. 2—*Hajr Serbût*.

Jordanic Arabic means, an erection or stander up. I tried to get some tradition or local history from the people about the stone, but they had no information to give concerning it.

Might this not be an ancient object of worship, similar to those found at Petra and Gezer, and connected with the religious life of the Moabites some three thousand years ago? It would be interesting to know what others think about this lonely sentinel of the Moab plains, so I have ventured to send its picture and these few facts about it. I was assured that there were others in the vicinity, but was unable to give time to turn aside and investigate. There was nothing in the way of inscription on the stone, only the usual shepherd and tribal marks. Truly Moab is a land waiting for the excavator and student of research. How much longer must such an inviting field remain untouched?

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### GLEANINGS FROM THE MINUTE-BOOKS OF THE JERUSALEM LITERARY SOCIETY.

By PROF. R. A. STEWART MACALISTER, M.A., F.S.A.

*(Continued from Q.S., January, p. 31.)*

#### XIX.

At the meeting of 3rd May, 1850, J. FINN, Esq., read a Paper on "Agriculture in Palestine."

[After describing at length the fertility of the country the paper proceeds.]

Riding one day, two years ago, eastwards of 'Anâta, and perceiving stalks of maize remaining in the ground, my guide (a man of 'Anâta) explained that in that district they do sow corn occasionally, taking care to do so in partnership with some tent-living Arabs, and then watching the crop at night, a few on either side conjointly; but that very frequently before the crops are quite ripe quarrels are created by the wilder party, who in one night cut as much as they can and decamp towards the Jordan, destroying the rest by fire.

I have been informed that even in the best and safest corn regions of Palestine, instead of the land being appropriated to owners and a rotation of crops being in use, the sowers (*i.e.*, any persons who may take the trouble to do it) sow a patch of ground,

then leave it next year and sow another portion, and so on. There is also a common custom for the sheikh of a village, at the commencement of the rain, to summon his council of elders, and after consultation to command what pieces are to be sown, what crops to be raised, by whom, and with what assistance. Such appointments are considered agrarian law for that agricultural year.

Comprehensively speaking, Galilee and Philistia are pre-eminently the corn countries, while Samaria is, on the large average, a cotton district. Judea has its own distinctive character of the vine and olive land . . . .

## XX.

At the meeting of 10th May, 1850, E. T. ROGERS, Esq., read a Paper on the "House of Abraham, near Hebron."

[This Paper was written to assert that *Ramet el-Khalil* was built by King David while resident in Hebron. It is therefore unnecessary to quote from it anything but the following local legend, repeated to the author by an inhabitant of Hebron.]

Our lord Solomon commenced this building intending to erect a mosque, but the angel Gabriel came to him during its progress and said: "This is not the place where the mosque is to be built." The angel then conducted him to the spot in Hebron over the cave of Machpelah. Solomon accordingly abandoned the project of building this mosque, but erected the one in Hebron over the burial place of our lord Abraham, at the site pointed out to him by the angel Gabriel.

## XXI.

At the meeting of 17th May, 1850, J. FINN, Esq., read a Paper on "Pilgrims to Jerusalem in 1850."

[After some preliminary remarks the author read answers obtained for him (by the dragoman of the consulate) to a series of questions drawn up by him, to obtain information regarding the pilgrims of the Greek and Armenian churches. These questions and answers are as follows:—]

1. What is the number of pilgrims arrived this year in Jerusalem? — *Greek*: 2,500, beside 1,500 from villages of the country: total, 4,000. *Armenian*: 7,000.

2. Is this number greater than the usual average?—*Greek*: No, but rather less. *Armenian*: Yes.

3. Does the increase steadily advance?—*Both*: No, but it fluctuates occasionally.

4. From what countries do they come?—*Greek*: From Cyprus, Smyrna, Athens, Corfu, Wallachia, Russia, and Constantinople. *Armenian*: From Rumelia, Cyprus, Southern Russia, and Persia by Diarbekr, Orfah, Aleppo, etc.

5. How are the expenses of the journey paid?—*Both*: They pay their own expenses.

6. What goods do they bring for sale?—*Greek*: Carpets, foot cloths, salt fish, brooms, silk shirts, napkins, wax, dry meat, woollen cloth, diamonds and pearls, besides European goods. But only the lower classes bring articles for merchandise; the others think it improper to do so. *Armenian*: The rich pilgrims bring valuable articles, not for sale, but as presents to the convent. The merchant trader class bring goods for sale from their respective countries.

7. What goods do they take away in return?—*Greek*: Damascus silks, soap, Hebron glass, Bethlehem beads, mother-of-pearl crosses, etc. For their personal use they take with them coloured prints, wax, incense, and shrouds which they have dipped in the Jordan or singed with holy fire. *Armenian*: Damascus silks, beads, crosses, pictures, glass rings, etc. The trading class carry them away for sale in their own country.

8. What religious services are required of them?—*Greek*: To visit all the holy places and every convent in Jerusalem, and to make a present to the convent in which they are lodged. *Armenian*: To pray and fast, to visit all the holy places seven or eight times with all humility, and to make a present to the convent.

9. What spiritual benefits do they expect to gain from the pilgrimage?—*Greek*: That the pain and self denial attending the pilgrimage will serve to counterpoise the pleasure they have had in committing sins, and that God will have mercy and forgive them. *Armenian*: That their sins will be forgiven and that they will derive grace to lead a new life.

10. Do they come more than once in their life?—*Both*: If they can afford it they come several times.

11. Are they under any rules or restrictions while here [in Jerusalem]?—*Greek*: The principal restriction is that they must

be within the convent by sunset. *Armenian*: The convent gates are shut from two hours after sunset till the morning; and the pilgrims are not allowed to go in large companies, or with the Greeks to Nazareth and the Jordan.

12. How and where are they lodged?—*Greek*: Those arriving from other countries reside within the convents, but those belonging to this country are permitted to hire houses from the inhabitants of Jerusalem. *Armenian*: Within the convent.

13. Do they pay for lodging, etc.?—*Greek*: Within the convents each person pays 60 piastres for the season, and is lodged with nine others; but a person or family wishing to avoid the company of others may have the room on condition of paying the sum which it would bring in when tenanted by the ten persons, i.e., 600 piastres, or about £5 10s. *Armenian*: The rich give what they please, 3,000, 4,000, or even 10,000 piastres each. The middle class pay 500 piastres at least. The poorest are fed and lodged by the convent, and their passage back is paid. But the rich and middle classes are always fed and lodged by the convent for the first three days.

14. What languages are spoken by pilgrims?—*Greek*: Greek, Russian, Bulgarian, Wallachian, and Turkish. *Armenian*: Armenian and Turkish.

Of the *Latins* less is known. Among them, except among the lowest classes, the name "pilgrim" . . . is going out of fashion; they prefer being denominated "travellers"; only they duly take certificates from the Latin convent that they have visited the many sanctuaries, and when rich enough . . . they purchase the Knighthood of the Order of the Holy Sepulchre, being smitten with the sword of Godfrey de Bouillon by the President of the Convent at the sacred shrine itself. The majority, however, of Latin pilgrims are wandering mechanics . . . .

In Palestine they are entertained *gratis* for three days at each of the Franciscan convents (viz., at Jaffa, Ramleh, Bethlehem, 'Ain Karim, and Nazareth), but one month in Jerusalem . . . .

Of the *Syrians* very few come because the sect has suffered diminution so terribly in past ages. They arrive at irregular intervals from the North of Syria and from Mesopotamia, and sometimes from the South of India.

The *Abyssinians* counted 100 pilgrims this Easter [1850], but the average number found in Jerusalem is 45, reckoning the

past three years . . . . These are mostly poor people, and are encouraged by their king to make the pilgrimage, for he assists them with some money ; but generally it is said that the relatives of a person intending to make the pilgrimage have a strong feeling against it . . . . [The wealthy] on commencing the pilgrimage renounce the world with all its titles and wealth, and dress like the poorest pilgrims . . . .

Of the *Copts* there is not much to be said. They are not very numerous as pilgrims, and are but little heard of . . . .

## XXII.

At the meeting of 31st May, 1850, J. FINN, Esq., read a Paper entitled "En-Rogel Examined."

On the 15th October, 1847, two members of our English colony as it then existed, viz., Rev. Geo. Dalton and R. B. Critchlow, Esq., the working architect of our new church, descended to the bottom of [Bir Eyub], the season of the year being most favourable to such a purpose ; the water being then at about its lowest quantity.

Leave was obtained from the local authorities and a strong windlass fastened over the mouth of the well from which depended iron chains holding a wooden seat. By this apparatus the above-mentioned gentlemen descended, carrying with them a lantern, tapers, measuring strings, pencil and paper. On returning to the city each of them made a sectional sketch of the interior, which differed in some trifling respects . . . . [but] I believe the result of an amicable conference was an adjustment of the differences till the plans nearly coincided.

Both agree that the total depth of the shaft is 130 feet, the lowest 60 of which is a perforation of mere unstratified rock, above which the shaft is built for 30 feet of huge ancient masonry, and then continued 40 feet higher to the present level of the valley in more recent and smaller masonry. From which the conclusion seems inevitable that [from time to time it has been necessary to lengthen the shaft as rubbish accumulated in the valley].

The water enters the shaft at about 28 feet from the bottom, within the portion which is mere rock. At the time of their descent the explorers found about 18 inches of water at the bottom . . . .

## XXIII.

At the meeting of 6th December, 1850, J. FINN, Esq., read a "Journal from Nablus to Tiberias by Tubaz and Beisan."

[As this route has recently (April, 1907) been described in the *Quarterly Statement*, it is unnecessary to give more than a few extracts from the Paper that may supplement the description referred to, or give information no longer accessible on the spot.]

. . . At the junction of Wady 'Annâb with Wady Beddân [Bilân] I observed several fragments of ancient columns four feet in diameter . . . .

At another spot, by our wayside, was a solid square of ancient masonry, three courses high . . . . . [which] may have been the lower part of a small pyramid, such as may be seen several courses high near Ziph, beyond Hebron [?]

Tubâz was seen high and distant before us. My companions stated that there, as well [as] in several villages round, are scattered Christians, one or two families in each, living among Muslims, without churches, without clergy, without books or education of any kind. Still, they are Christians, and carry their children to the Greek Church in Nablus for baptism . . . . Found a distinct piece of Roman paved road . . . . Crossed [Wady Far'a] and, at half-past twelve, were resting under olive trees alongside of Tubâz . . . .

At 2 o'clock we reached Kayaseer [Teiasir], a wretched but ancient village, with very old olive trees<sup>1</sup> . . . .

[From Teiasir to Beisan, which he reached at 6.30, he noticed nothing not already in the account above mentioned.]

[Beisan is] a wild-looking place, with noble mountain scenery in every direction. The village and fields unusually gloomy, with volcanic stone material, very darkly coloured. The savage-looking people busily employed in heaping and thrashing their harvest of indigo . . . . The people came advising us not to sleep in our tents for fear of Arabs who were known to be about. We, however, determined to remain in our place . . . .

*Tuesday, 29th.—[ ?].* We learned that the indigo cultivation is not very laborious, the people sprinkle the seed upon the ground, and then turn the streams over it for inundation. This is

<sup>1</sup> It is a pity he says nothing about the little synagogue-like building there: it would have been interesting to learn its condition in 1850.

done immediately after barley harvest, and upon the same land. No produce is obtained for two years, but then for five years successively the plants produce 72-fold . . . . the population here are very dark coloured, almost black, and have some very evil-expressioned countenances among them . . . .

We rode about to inspect the Roman antiquities, the most remarkable of which is a semi-circular theatre, with the ends of the arc connected by the straight line or chord of the stage. The semi-circle is perforated transversely upon the ground by vaulted openings, slightly sloping towards the interior space: the construction of their arched roofs is of masterly workmanship, and these are connected within by passages from one to another. Above these, the lines of seats remain quite distinct, but I perceived no vestige of sockets for the brazen ἡχεῖα or reverberating vessels for conveyance of sound, which it is said Mr. Banks found there, and no trace of any inscription. One striking peculiarity in its general appearance is that of being built all of black stone, the abundant and only material to be found within a very considerable distance: however, the flat blocks in front of the stage, each measuring 8 feet by 4 feet, are not such, and were, therefore, brought from elsewhere<sup>1</sup> . . . .

This theatre occupies a corner (if we may so express it) of an oval natural hollow, across which . . . runs diagonally a small river from south-west to north-east, and nearly parallel with the stage of the theatre, but, at a good distance, is a double line of fine columns, with a bridge at half its length crossing the stream. The bridge is broken down, and the columns lie in fragments, but the pediments [pedestals] remain in their sites, some of them with a few feet of shaft remaining, averaging 4 feet in diameter; several of the capitals are found also, not exactly in either of the regular orders of architecture, but with volutes and very large egg-and-dart pattern sculpture.

At the opposite extremity of the hollow basin from the theatre is a large natural mound, nearly of an oblong square in shape, but apparently artificially rounded at the edges. Steps have been formed in one face (that looking towards the theatre) for ascent to the summit. This is generally regarded as the site of the Acropolis. Arriving at what appears from below to be the summit, I found

<sup>1</sup> I have transcribed this description in full, as the theatre has suffered severely since it was written—being used as a quarry for the rapidly growing town.

a wide platform, improved by art, with remains of houses and cisterns, and surrounded at the edge by a parapet wall, five feet thick, where one-third of the space of this hill has been left rising considerably higher than the platform. At the north-west corner I found remains of a massive gateway in the parapet wall, with fragments of old columns and friezes built up into its side-works. At this place the mound is peculiarly precipitous. On the extreme summit are no remains of human labour . . . .

The journey was resumed at half past nine . . . in half-an-hour we had to ford a rather wide stream, and in five minutes more were among the ruins of a large city; upon a tumulus at its farthest extremity are lying portions of three huge sarcophagi, and a piece of a thick column.

[There is nothing new in the remainder of the Paper.]

#### XXIV.

At the meeting of 20th December, 1850, J. FINN, Esq., read a "Journal from Safed to Jerusalem by an Unusual Route."

[The route described is *via* Hattin, Nazareth, Jenin, and thence by Jeb'a and Fendekumieh to Antipatris. It is unnecessary to extract more than the following passages] :—

[At Sanur the people] gave, at our request, some account of the famous siege which the place sustained in 1831. Abdallah Pasha and the Emir Beshir took four months to reduce Sanur, though with a great expenditure of round shot and shells. At length, however, it was utterly destroyed, not one house being left entire. But, in one month more, the Pasha and all Palestine were conquered by the Egyptians under Abu Khalil (the popular nickname of Ibrahim Pasha). During the siege the terrific Druzes, it is said, were frequently seen to drink human blood, and to carry about, as trophies, fresh severed human heads between their teeth. The first of the shells fell into the house in which we were conversing while two women were baking bread there. After the catastrophe the scattered survivors took refuge with friends in neighbouring villages, and about two years ago returned to rebuild the place. It has now a fair average number of houses, with an imposing residence for the Sheikh . . . .

[At Sanûr] we began the day by enquiring for the subterranean passages and the sculptured eagle of which Sheikh Jewâr<sup>1</sup> [?] had given us information while in Jeb'a some months previous. After a good deal of hesitation, the people took us to a cavern where we saw entrances of passages, now stopped up. It was on an adjoining doorway that the sculptured figure had been. They declared it had been a lion of about two feet long, but it had been broken to morsels by them about a year ago at the command of the Sheikh, as being a thing prohibited by the Muhammadan religion. Upon further enquiry, I learned that the lion had wings like a bird, so that [the Sheikh] had not been very far in the wrong, and the age of the sculpture must be referred to the Venetian Crusaders [?]. . . . .

About an hour before Mejdel [on the way from Kilkilieh] we passed the remains of an ancient town. Among the scattered building stones and the foundations was a cistern with a sarcophagus lying beside it. Remains of a quarry—a deep square well, nearly covered over—and the four sides of a square building, standing to some height, with a semicircular doorway towards the north. [Here I took a] sketch of an ancient church doorway within the gate [of the castle above Mejdel] . . . The people there knew nothing of its former history, or the significance of its inscription.

### MAPTYPION TOY KAPOKOY

"The Martyr-Chapel of Saint Cergeus"<sup>2</sup> . . . . The stones of the portal and the letters of the inscription are of large dimensions. On looking within its door I found the Martyr-Chapel occupied as a stable by horses . . . . .

[We proceeded to *Ras Kerker*, the stronghold of Ibn Simhân, the leader of the Kais faction.] Half-way up the hill is a stone cottage, with vineyards and some broken shafts of large columns. The castle is difficult of access, and we found it in a sad state of neglect. Two distant relations of the main family (the head of which is the Governor of Lydd) were there, and showed us room after room, a melancholy spectacle which reminded us of some descriptions in Scott's words of deserted little Scotch castles: the rooms unfurnished, the shutters with broken hinges, the principal gate rotted to pieces and our conductors arrayed in keeping with

Name almost illegible.

<sup>2</sup> [I give the transcript and translation as it appears in the MS., which here is written by a neat but not very "literate" clerk.—R. A. S. M.]

the place. The castle was commenced forty-four years ago, when there was no building of any kind there; but during the works they discovered ancient cisterns and some squared building stones . . . . .

The villages of the Yamani faction (whose leader is Abu Ghosh) approach very close here on the south; indeed, this is a frontier position of the Kai-siyah, who, however, extend far eastwards . . . .

We were received into the best house of the very poor village of *Jiniah*, while the rural Mu'eddin was crying the sunset prayer-time from a stone at the corner of a house. Nobody seemed to notice him but myself. Below our window was seated a council of elders in a circle on the ground, apparently more occupied in worldly polities than in religious duties. Among the diversified company which almost filled our room there came in an old man who told old tales and recited long passages of Arabic poetry . . . .

One of the company having assured us that on the way to Jerusalem there existed remains of an ancient city named *Harrâshah*, with stone sculptures of "figures of the children of men," unknown to any European, our curiosity was much excited . . . . On the road our companions pointed out occasionally spots where skirmishes or assassinations had taken place within their memory between the rival factions of Kais and Yaman . . . . Arrived at the village of Mezra'a in about an hour, the whole population turned out . . . the crowd would not be kept off, and the people themselves told us it was because they had never before seen Europeans . . . . [We made] a present of an ounce or so of fine English gunpowder for priming to my two companions . . . . One of [the crowd] contrived to steal a pinch of the precious article, and placing it on the palm of his hand, another brought a large piece of burning charcoal to ignite it. The former came in triumph to show that the explosion had left no mark on the skin, a proof of the excellency of the powder. [When the people heard] that we were going to visit Harrâshah . . . they demurred, grumbled, talked aside . . . and then a flock of them ran to take arms, examining the priming as they walked or ran upon the rocks, to prevent the Franks carrying off the treasures.

At about forty minutes eastwards we came upon the ruins on the summit of a wild hill, full of natural stones. There were lines of wall built of huge rude blocks, much time-eaten, evidently of immense antiquity . . . . . [We asked], "Where are the

columns?" "Here" [was the answer]. So, stooping into a cavern, we saw one rough prop, which had been left in the middle by the excavators of the place. "Where are the figures?" Again the armed villagers grumbled, and some turned away—there were enough of them to have laid siege to Harrâsheh had it been inhabited . . . . At length they began to move reluctantly down the sloping southern face of the hill, and we followed . . . to about a quarter the way down, and there stood two or three ferocious fellows with muskets, who had got down on foot quicker than ourselves, as guards over a piece of rough rock which stands, naturally, somewhat more perpendicular than any of the million large stones scattered around. That was all . . . .

(To be continued.)

## MIZPEH AND MIZPAH.

By THE REV. CALEB HAUSER, M.A.

(1) *The Valley of Mizpeh (Land of Mizpah).*—The Land of Mizpah was under Mount Hermon; its inhabitants were Hivites (Josh. xi, 3). It was not in the Bukei'a proper, as that was the Valley of Lebanon, but apparently south of it, directly under Hermon. Buhl, on the other hand, following Wetzstein, would place Mizpeh too far south, at Kulat Shubeibeh above Banias (*Geographie*, p. 240). Granting that the Land of Mizpah could then have been the country sloping down to the Hûleh, we could not find in it a Bikâh (בִּקְעָה, Josh. xi, 8) or broad valley; and the valley west of Kulat Shubeibeh is called "the valley that lieth by Beth Rehob" (Judg. xviii, 28). Cheyne (*Ency. Biblica*, col. 3160) correctly says: "Probably the Mizpah, or watch-tower, was on some hill in one of the valleys of the Upper Jordan above Lake Hûleh." Now this Mizpeh (Miṣpēh) is evidently the *Nely Suſa*, the proper Arabic name of which is said to be Thelthâtha, of which Robinson, in his *Late Biblical Researches*, says: "From *Nely Suſa*, the basin or plain of the upper Wady et-Teim is seen extending far to the N.N.E." Thelthâtha seems to be the most elevated town under Hermon in those parts, its elevation is almost as great as that of Hâsbeïya or the sides of Hermon (*vide*

Buhl's *Geographic*, map). Robinson says: "The name *Nely Sufu* is understood to come from a wely." Now, the first part of the name preserves the tradition of the sanctity of the place, and a wely often marks a place of primitive Semitic worship. In this case, the ancient holy place was a massebah-sanctuary, superseded, later on, by a sanctuary in the form of a massive temple, of which Robinson says: "It stood here, facing the east, directly over against Hermon, in his most imposing aspect. The temple was larger than that at Hibâriyeh; the stones not bevelled and not as large, though 3 feet thick; the entablature less heavy; the pediment more elegant, and the general character of the architecture lighter and more graceful . . . . The altar at the western end has under it a vault, with steps leading down to it . . . . The wall exhibits thirteen courses of stones, each 3 feet thick, the entablature being  $4\frac{1}{2}$  feet. The following measurements were made by Mr. Thomson, on a former visit:—

Length, from east to west ...	... 72½	feet.
Width, from north to south ...	... 35	"
Height of wall ...	... 43½	"
Columns, diameter ...	... 3	"

Here, then, we have the spot where the chief sanctuary of the Hivites, in the Land of Mizpah, under Mount Hermon stood: here, we also find the Valley of Mizpah, the extent, in this direction, of the enemy's rout after Joshua's victory over the northern confederacy of kings (Josh. xi, 8).

(2) *Mizpah of Gilead* (*Jegar-Sahadutha*) was also called Galeed. This name, and the Aramaic *Jegar-Sahadutha*, have the same signification, "heap of witness." With *Sahadutha* we may compare the Arabic *shahada*, "to witness, to be witness, to give witness," and the derivatives of this root. As to the location of Mizpah, we may assume that it was on *Jebel Ajlûn*, rather than some distance south-east of it. Laban and his brethren overtook Jacob on the mountain of Gilead. Jacob had encamped on the mountain, and they likewise encamped on the mountain of Gilead (Gen. xxxi, 23-28).

Furthermore, the name Mizpah, signifying a watch-tower, a place of look out, would have been well placed somewhere on the brow of *Jebel Ajlûn*, with an extensive view, for miles round, of the surrounding country; and conspicuous heights, such as this is, were anciently centres of the massebah cult, "high places," with which

dolmens, and dolmen circles—numerous groups of which are found on the slopes of Jebel ‘Ajlûn—seem to have stood in very close connection (*cp.*, with discrimination and due reverence, Gen. xxxi, 46, 51 and 52). And now, if we may take Galeed, like Jegar-Sahadutha, to be, in fact, an ancient name of the place, then Galeed would have been first applied to the original “heap of witness”; later, however, the name must have belonged to the whole mountain with all its “heaps” and “pillars,” dolmen circles, and standing stones. Then, indeed, the place of the original massebah (*cp.* Gen. xxxi, 45) on the top of Mount Gilead would naturally appropriate to itself exclusively, from its location a look-out, the name Mizpeh.

But where was this Mizpeh, Jegar-Sahadutha? Very probably at *Deir Abu Sa‘id*, preserving in the first part of the name a tradition of the sanctity of the place, and in *Sa‘id*, the very name Sahadutha, in its root form at least—the inessential addition having perished; we note, in *Sa‘id*, a survival, not a translation, of the old Aramaic name. *Suf*, with which Mizpeh is generally identified, would seem to have been an ancient Zuph or Zophîm. The names would correspond, and the Hebrew one would be appropriate to the situation. Wherever we may be inclined to seek the Mizpeh where Jephthah’s residence was (Judg. xi, 34), we cannot place it at *Suf*; it was directly *above* and *near* a mountainous region; for Jephthah’s daughter said: “Let this thing be done for me; let me alone two months, that I may go up and *down* upon the mountains, and bewail my virginity, I and my fellows” (Judg. xi, 37). At this Mizpeh, the Israelites were encamped against the invading Ammonites (Judg. x, 17), and from here Jephthah “passed over unto the children of Ammon” (Judg. xi, 29), and here, very probably, he “uttered all his words before the Lord” (v. 11). The location of Mizpeh in Jebel ‘Ajlûn is, as regards its direction from Mahanaim, a gain for the fixing of the topography of Jacob’s flight. Another Mizpeh may have been situated in Golan at *Kh. Sa‘idy*, another dolmen centre, at which we find the strange name, Kubûr Beni Isra‘îl.

(3) *Mizpeh (of Benjamin)*.—The identification of this place with Neby Samwîl seems to be incorrect.

In the first place Neby Samwîl seems to be nearer el-Jib than Mizpah was; for Johanan and the men with him having heard of the massacre of the pilgrims by Ishmael in Mizpeh, came against that

villain and met him at the waters of Gibeon (Jer. xli, 12). It is not reasonable to suppose that Ishmael, if at Neby Samwil, would set out with the captives at the very time that Johanan and his men were approaching. That Ishmael is said to have gone out from Mizpeh, to meet the pilgrims on their coming up to offer sacrifice at the house of God, does not in any way necessitate the location of Mizpeh at Neby Samwil; for the pilgrims evidently did not intend to go to Jerusalem—the temple at that place had been burnt—but to Mizpeh, the seat of government at that time and an ancient place of worship, containing, according to 1 Macc. iii, 46, an “ancient Israelitish place of prayer.” For the phrase: “the house of God” compare 1 Sam. i, 7.

Secondly, Mizpeh seems to have been nearer Eben-Ezer than Neby Samwil is. According to 1 Sam. vii, 12, Eben-Ezer and Ha-Shen were both visible from Mizpeh; Ha-Shen was near enough to Mizpeh, and on a straight line with Eben-Ezer, that with regard to it (Ha-Shen) the location of Eben-Ezer could be given. It is quite evident, therefore, that Eusebius and Jerome (*Onomasticon*) err in placing Eben-Ezer far to the south-west near Beth-Shemesh.

Thirdly, when the Philistines approached to give battle to the Israelites, these went out from Mizpeh, and pursued the fugitive enemy till *under Beth-Car* (v. 11). If Mizpeh had been at Neby Samwil, the Philistines would have approached and retreated by way of Beth-Horon. Compare the topography of the battle in which Joshua routed the Canaanites besieging Gibeon (Josh. x).

Fourthly, Neby Samwil and its vicinity does not present so extensive an elevated surface as would be desirable for such assemblages as were congregated at the great celebration recorded in 1 Sam. vii, 6, and at the meeting where Saul was chosen king (1 Sam. x, 17-26).

Fifthly, Neby Samwil seems to be too far distant from Kuryet el-Enab. Eusebius, who located Kiriath Jearim at this place (nine R. miles from Jerusalem on the road to Diospolis, or Lydda), says, that Mizpeh (*Muzape*) was near Kiriath Jearim. We must regard the statement of Josephus, that Mizpeh was forty *stadia* from Jerusalem, as another example of that writer's inaccuracy.

Now there is a site which, in my judgment, answers each and every requirement, namely, the ridge north of Kuryet el-Enab, crowned by the *Kh. Batn es-Sa'ideh*. The ruined site is on a straight line with Deir 'Azar and 'Ain esh-Shâmiyeh, the first being only

two and a half miles distant. An ancient road leads to Gibeon, Jerusalem is visible (as 1 Macc. iii, 46, requires), the view is extensive (the surveyors chose the spot for a trigonometrical station), the apparently quite level surface, large. How the Aramaic "Sahadutha" should survive here in place of the name Mizpeh is problematical.

We may now see why Asa fortified this place. It commanded two approaches, that by Kuryet el-'Enab, and that by Beth-Horon, as Geba commanded that by the Pass of Michmash (1 Kings xv, 22; 2 Chron. xvi, 6). Because of its location and strength, perhaps, it became the seat of the Chaldean government, the residence of Gedaliah (Jer. xl, 6 *sqq.*). We may not find any relics of Jeremiah, who staid with or near Gedaliah for a time (*ibid.*), nor the bones of those massacred by Ishmael (Jer. xli, 3), but the cistern into which these were cast, and the substructures of the other works of Asa at Mizpeh, might be laid bare by systematic excavations. Massebahs also might be found, but not *in situ*, perhaps in fragments only, used in building later works.

(4) *Mizpeh* (Neh. iii, 15).—If the above identification be accepted as correct, it will prove interesting to identify Kuryet es-Sa'ideh, south-west of 'Ain Karim. It may be shown that all the particulars of Mr. Macalister's description of *Kuriet es-Sa'ileh* (*Quarterly Statement*, 1904, pp. 248 *sqq.*) may be explained quite readily, if this is the site of an ancient Mizpeh, as the name seems to imply. Mr. Macalister says: "The site is conspicuous for many miles round from all places (like Neby Samwil) from which a commanding view can be obtained." Now here was evidently a Mizpeh that remained a beacon station, or a look-out, long after the massebah-cult of the high places had been wiped out. "The remarkable series of conical mounds which dot the whole ridge between Kuriet es-Sa'ideh and Malhah" may mark the ruins of watch-towers like that at Tell el-Ful. "The number and relative position of the Malhah mounds does not necessarily preclude their being regarded as the remains of watch-towers. In the fields round and above 'Ain Karim much space is occupied—one might almost say wasted—by large numbers of extensive and complicated watch-towers grouped together in the same or adjacent fields" (*ibid.*). To one who is awake to the significance of trees on hill-tops in Palestine, the following remark of Mr. Macalister is also suggestive: "A small group of terebinth and kharub trees marks it out on the

otherwise bare hills." The tunnel conveying water from a spring in the rock is also suggestive of a Mizpeh (*cp.* 1 Sam. vii, 6). Such tunnels may be regarded as the works of kings or princes—as the tunnel of Hezekiah at Jerusalem and that of Solomon at Urtás. Those at Neby Samwil, at Bireh, and at 'Ain Karim, which Mr. Macalister also mentions, are an indication of the importance of these sites either from a military, or a religious point of view. "Such tunnels occur in various parts of the Jerusalem district, and they have not received the attention their interest warrants" (Mr. Macalister, *loc. cit.*).

The columbarium on the northern slope of the hill on which the ruins stand, a short distance down from the brow of the hill, is a place of prayer like that which, according to 1 Macc. iii, 46, was at the Benjamite Mizpeh. Columbaria existed from times quite ancient at various sacred spots.

This Mizpeh would seem to have been the Μασφή of which Eusebius says: *ἐστι καὶ ἀλλη φυλῆς Ἰούδα ἀπιόντων εἰς Λιλίαν.* It is also named in Neh. iii, 15. The ruler of this district repaired the fountain gate. Those of Zanoah and Bethhaicerem built on the one side, and those of Beth-Zur and Keilah on the other. The order of enumeration shows that this Mizpeh is meant.

### JACOB'S WELL.

By ASAD MANSUR, Pastor of Christ Church, Nazareth.

Is the well known as Jacob's Well rightly identified with the "parcel of a field" bought by the patriarch, the meeting-place of our Lord and the woman of Samaria? This is the question I wish to raise, and if I disagree with the identification I can, at least, give my reasons.

In the first place, if we consider the Biblical evidence, what do we know about Shechem, Sychar (John iv, 5), and Jacob's Well? The earliest references are Gen. xii, 6, 7; xxxiii, 18 *sq.*; xxxiv; and xlvi, 22. In the last mentioned the word "portion" in Hebrew is Shechem (R.V., margin), which refers either to the city taken by

Simeon and Levi (Gen. xxxiv)—Shechem was built on the shoulder of Gerizim—or it is a prophecy giving to Joseph one more portion in the land (see Josh. xvii, 14–18).

In the second place, are Shechem and Sychar one city? Explorers, travellers, and expositors are divided on this matter since the time of Eusebius, who held that they were two cities, and of Jerome, who held that they were one and the same. Those who hold the former opinion, that they are two, generally refer to Askar, a village near the well to the north; and those who hold that they are the same, think that Sychar may be a corruption of Shechem, or that the Jews called Shechem (the city of the Samaritans) "Sychar" (drunken), in reproach. What seems to me more probable is that Sychar was a part of Shechem outside the walls of the city where they might press or sell wine, or where public-houses or drinking places were built. I think this part was in the north-east portion of the present town, in the quarter known by the name of *Hirbet el-Hableh* (حربة حارث). Robinson said “But even granting for a moment that Sychar was a distinct city and stood upon this spot, the difficulties of the general question are in no degree lessened. The woman would have to cross a mill-stream in order to reach the well, and it remains just inexplicable why the well should ever have been dug” (*Biblical Research*, III, 133).

Third, as regards the location of the well as Jacob's Well. The earliest information we have about this well is from the pen of Eusebius (A.D. 267–340) and Bordo the Traveller (A.D. 333) and Jerome (A.D. 331–420). They mention Jacob's Well and Joseph's Tomb in their existing locations, and since then many have followed in their steps. A church was erected over the well. I read that Eusebius said that St. Paula visited it. If this was so, then Queen Helena built the church; but Maundrell said that the Empress Irene (A.D. 780–803) built it. It was destroyed by the Arabs in the tenth century. The Crusaders rebuilt it (A.D. 1130) but it was mentioned as a ruin before A.D. 1283. But there are strong objections to the present locality of the well, which I do not believe can easily be answered. I doubt if Jacob ever dug a well near Shechem. “It remains just inexplicable,” said Robinson, “why the well should ever have been dug.” This sentence expresses doubt in the mind of the great explorer, and I, myself, have great sympathy with it, and for these reasons:—

(a) There is much and copious water in the vicinity of Shechem.

(b) It is mentioned that Abraham and Isaac dug wells, but it is never mentioned that Jacob did so.

(c) Shechem and the surroundings are mentioned several times in the Old Testament Scriptures, but no mention is made of the well, although other things more or less important are noticed, e.g., Joseph's Tomb and the Oak of the Pillar (Joshua xxiv, 26; Judges ix, 6), the Oak of the M<sup>e</sup>on<sup>n</sup>im (Judges ix, 37), the House of Millo (Judges ix, 6), the Tower of Shechem (Judges ix, 46), etc. Moreover, Shechem was a City of Refuge and had special importance in the eyes of the nation. Surely so important a relic of their father Jacob as his well would be noticed!

It may be objected that, although there is a copious supply of water it is the property of individuals, or of towns and villages, so that in order to avoid quarrels over the water, Jacob may have dug a well for himself. This is, no doubt, possible, and it was so on other occasions, but it seems from Gen. xxxiv that Jacob had more liberty than his forefathers. Consider for a moment his gifts of cattle to his brother (Gen. xxxii, 14 *sq.*) Even if he only gave a tithe, that would make his flocks some thousands. Now all these flocks and herds, with their herdsmen and shepherds, must have needed much land for pasture and encampment. Such a wide area would not be without springs, and we know that, later on, the sons of Jacob came to Shechem to feed their sheep (Gen. xxxvii, 12). Moreover, would the fact that the well is not mentioned be any proof against its existence? We see that such a well as Jacob's ought to be mentioned, and the Samaritan woman said plainly: "Art thou greater than our father Jacob, who gave us the well?" This may seem very strong proof, but we may justly say that she mentioned the tradition of her nation, which is no argument in itself. We must remember, too, that the Samaritans have always tried to put all the sacred places near Shechem and Gerizim. They may even have invented places which never existed, and things which never happened. This is the case with all religions which attach much importance to places and reliques. But the Evangelist said: "Jacob's Well was there." To this I reply that the Evangelist mentioned it as commonly known and commonly believed in, without pronouncing an opinion upon it. We often see this in Scripture and in history. The most familiar explanation of 1 Cor. xv, 29, is

that the Apostle referred to the practice of vicarious baptism (*see Conybeare and Howson, Life and Epistles of St. Paul*, 1891, p. 412), but the Apostle did not rebuke this superstition or commend it. St. Luke mentions in Acts xxviii, 4, the belief of the inhabitants of Melita when they saw the viper fasten on St. Paul's hand, but he gives no comment on this belief, whereas it is elsewhere rebuked in Scripture (*cp. St. Luke xiii, 1-5*).

We have many historical instances of the same kind, but I shall refer only to cases under discussion. We have the *Jisr Banat Iacob*, "The Bridge of Jacob's Daughters," on the Jordan; *Tub Jusuf*, "Joseph's Pit," between the lakes of Tiberias and Huleh; *El Khums Khulut*, "The Five Loaves," to the west of Tiberias (where Christ is said to have fed the five thousand with five loaves). We could easily multiply other instances of which we talk and even write about without any comment: examples of traditions which the hearer or the reader accepts without criticism or without troubling about their origin.

Even if we suppose that Jacob dug a well near Shechem, it would not be the well now commonly believed. There would be no need for the woman to come for water, either from Shechem or Askar (assuming Sychar to be the village Askar), as water is plentiful in both places. The defenders of this site felt the weight of this objection, and have tried to answer it in many ways. Thus, it has been urged that she went so far, although she had water at hand, because of the deep veneration she had for the holy spot. But her character before her conversion is well known to us, and so I do not see why such a woman should feel more respect for a holy place than other women in her town. Again it has been said that she went there to avoid the public fountains, as she was ashamed of her conduct. It is a well-known fact that such women are shameless and other women generally avoid them, but the fact remains that she was at the well at noonday, which is not the time when women go out to draw water (Gen. xxiv, 11; 1 Sam. ix, 11). Moreover, it has been thought that Shechem was a large town, and reached as far as the well or near it at least, and the woman's house was in the eastern part, so that the well was the nearest water she could get to. There are some ruins to the east of Nâblus, at the foot of Gerizim, to the north-east, near the barracks. But who knows if they were Roman barracks or a fortification? Besides, it has never been proved that the city reached so far, and even

granting that the town reached the present barracks, or a little farther to the east, both the fountain of the barracks, and the fountain in the village of Balâta would be nearer than the well now called "Jacob's Well." What seems still more astonishing is, to put the house of the woman in the east and nearest to the fountain! Some one may soon say that the church was built on the well and the house of the Samaritan woman!

It has been said that the woman was not in the town but in the field, where the well was the nearest water for her. But, on the other hand, at what time of the year was the woman at the well? She was there four months before harvest (St. John iv, 35), and the harvest begins in the middle of April (Lev. xxiii, 10, and Deut. vi, 9). Now four months before this brings us to the middle of December. What was the woman doing in the field at that time? Supposing that she was in the field for some purpose or other, do we not know the nature of the work in this country, that there would be no need for a rope and water-jar, as a small jar filled from a house, or some fountain on the way, would be sufficient for her use at that time of year, and for any others with her?

Granting that Jacob dug a well, and that the woman came to it where Christ found her, it would not be this one. First, it is not reasonable to suppose that Jacob would dig a well in the solid rock, when he could obtain water a few yards further away. It is unlikely that he would have built it in cut stones from top to bottom, and to the depth of 105 feet. Those in favour of this well compare its depth with the words of the woman, "The well is deep," and find in them an argument for identifying the well. But the words of the woman mean only that to draw water a rope and a bucket are needed; and these would be needed in a well only 10 feet deep. Again, granting that Jacob dug a well, it would have to be a copious fountain, sufficient for his family, his servants, and his flocks. But this well is always dry in summer, and even in winter its water is not enough for such a number of men and cattle. Many people do not believe it to be a spring, only a cistern. The water found in it in winter is only what drains into it from its sides. When I was in Nâblus in the month of March, I was told that the monks bring the water to the well from the village of Askar. Others suppose there has been a change owing to some natural accident. This is a supposition which has no evidence in history, for every one who mentions the place describes it as it is at present.

I will add only one more reason. The Roman road was not, like the present carriage-road, near the well, but farther up on the slope of Gerizim, and it passed Shechem to Samaria. The nearest road to Galilee is across the opening in Mount Ebal opposite the cemetery; from there it crosses its summit northwards. Thus, anyone travelling either way would be far from the well, and would reach other springs without being obliged to turn out of his way.

But if this is not the real well, who dug it, and for what purpose was it dug, and how was it that a church was built over it?

I do not think that anyone can give a convincing answer to these questions. If such questions can be taken as argument for identifying Biblical places, we might easily identify many which are now doubtful. Let me put before the reader the reason which I heard from the Samaritan priest in Náblus, and leave him to judge for himself: "There was in the spot near the well a Samaritan temple, where Joshua pitched his tent. A Christian queen wanted to take possession of this spot, but she could not compel the Samaritans. To satisfy her ambition, she invented the tradition of the well, and built a church over it."

The Samaritans were a powerful people, and have revolted many times. In the time of the Emperor Zeno (A.D. 474), they attacked the Christians in the church on Whitsunday, and killed many, and cut the fingers of the Bishop. In the time of the Emperor Anastasius (A.D. 491-518), they attacked the church which was on Mount Gerizim, near their temple, and killed the guard. Later, under Emperor Justinian (A.D. 529), they arose fifty thousand strong, destroyed the churches, killed the Bishop and many other Christians.

Finally, where was the real well? If we grant that Jacob dug a well—and the concession is not a necessary one—we must look for a suitable place for his purpose. We have already seen that Shechem was not a large city; that Jacob pitched his tent before the city in the parcel of a field which he had bought; and that Sychar was in the quarter of the present town, now known by the name of *Hâret el-Hableh*. Now, the tent "pitched before the city" at that time, would not be where the supposed Jacob's Well is, but to the north of the city; therefore, we must find a suitable place in that direction. Opposite to the Hâret el-Hableh there is an opening in Mount Ebal, in which there are gardens, fields, and the cemetery, also a place called the *Midan* (the goal of galloping), and part of Hâret el-Hableh.

I feel much inclined to reckon this opening as the parcel of a field which Jacob bought, and in which he dug the well. There are several springs in the Hâret el-Hâbleh, and, wherever you dig to a depth of 15 feet, or even 10 feet, the water springs up into a copious fountain. There is a well there called the Well of the Prophets, on which a Mohammedan mosque has been built called *el-Anbia* ("the prophets"), and by the word "prophets" they mean the sons of Jacob. I venture to believe, then, that if Jacob dug a well in the neighbourhood, it is to be identified with this well or some well near it.

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## POSITION OF THE ALTAR OF BURNT SACRIFICE IN THE TEMPLE OF JERUSALEM.

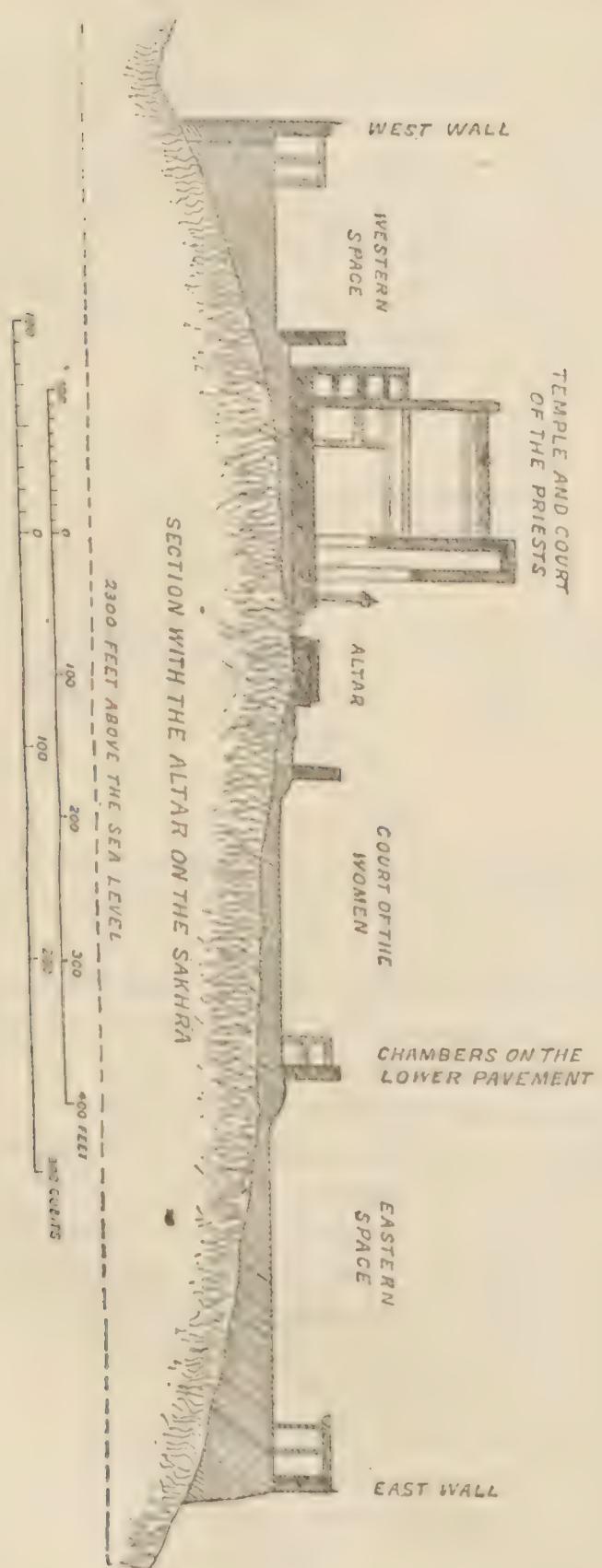
By J. M. TENZ.

I WAS much interested in reading Sir Charles Watson's article on the above subject, in the January *Q.S.*, and in finding that this point is again being taken up.

Sir Charles Watson rightly remarks that the presentation of different views is of great value in arriving at the solution of a difficult question, and as various opinions have been put forward, may I also add my views on this important subject.

In the translation of the Mishna, *Middoth*, the length and breadth of the outer court of the Temple is given as 500 cubits, and in Josephus, Solomon's Temple is given as one furlong, and Herod's as six furlongs in circumference, he also calls the length of the royal cloister in Herod's Temple one furlong (Josephus, *Ant.*, XV, xi, 4), yet the foundations of the south wall on which this cloister stood is 922 feet in length (*Q.S.*, 1869, p. 368).

The question arises as to what Josephus means by a furlong: apparently he calls it a furlong, even when much more than 600 feet, but less than 1,200 feet. The 500 cubits in *Middoth* do not exactly correspond with all the measurements of the courts and buildings of the Temple as given by the same writer, but the number 500 may



have been given to correspond with the number of reeds in Ezekiel's Temple (*Ezekiel xlvi, 15–20*).

The following measurements and sectional drawings may lead us nearer to a solution of the true position of the Altar.

A line drawn from the west wall of the Haram, or "Noble Sanctuary," through the centre of the Dome of the Rock to the east wall is 981 feet in length, or 654 cubits, of 18 inches to the cubit, and is made up as follows:—

	Cubits.
Western space...     ...	100
Court of the Priests, 187 cubits, viz.—	
From the wall to the Temple     ...	11
Length of the Temple     ...	100
Between the porch and the Altar ...	22
The Altar ( <i>see Q.S., 1885, pp. 142–144</i> ) ...	32
Place for the tread of the feet of the Priests	11
Place for the tread of the feet of Israel ...	11
	187
Court of the women     ...	135
Allowance for east chamber ( <i>see Jeremiah xxxv, 4–6; Ezra x, 6, and Ezekiel xl, 12</i> ) ...	19
Eastern space     ...	213
Total     ...	654

or 981 feet.

## THE BEDOUIN OF THE SINAITIC PENINSULA.

By W. E. JENNINGS-BRAMLEY.

*(Continued from Q.S., 1909, p. 258.)*XXIII. *The Suez—Kadēsh Road.*

ON leaving Suez, the Pilgrim Road at once enters the Wādy Tīh. The road, although passing over undulating ground, is in no way difficult, and after some four hours of gradual ascent, enters the Wady Gebab, which leads directly to the Wady Haidan. Our guide, however, missed the road: we therefore took a direct course for the Gebel el-Meuhalich, a headland to be seen from Suez, at the entrance of the Wady Haidan. Being off the general road, our passage was by no means smooth, but the dunes are small, in only a very few places did they necessitate our changing the course. Their direction like those of the Western Desert is 20° from N.E. to S.W. The dips between the dunes are overgrown with slight vegetation—from under several bushes we put up the desert hare. This little animal is hardly as big as the English rabbit and lies very close on the form, springing up almost under one's feet. The Dorcas gazelle is also common in the wādy.

The entrance to the Wādy Gebab is steep. The sides of the wady are sandy, very steep, and, seemingly, held up principally by small bushes which grow sparsely on all sides.

The bottom of the wady is well grown over by a large bush called “Add’s” (taking its name from the lentil which its flower much resembles). “Schiech,” a plant with a very strong smell, is the best fodder growing in the wādy. There were two solitary tents, belonging to Terabin Arabs, in a small side valley off the road, with sheep and goats to feed on this last-named plant.

A hemlock was just pushing through the sand, and its fresh greenery attracted the camels, but the guide never allowed them to feed on it, there being a superstition with them that should

a she-camel when with calf feed from it, she will drop her young long before the proper time.

We camped at the junction of the Wady el-Gebab and Wady el-Būm.

On the next day we were close to more hilly ground, and early passed from sand to rock and hard ground.

There having been but a small local rainfall this year, two stone basins in the rocks, known to the guide, were empty. These, called "Machsan," or "Sanduk," by the Arabs are both similar, being at the commencement of wadies, where the water, held in by narrow rocky sides, comes suddenly to the edge and pours down on the rocks below, in time hollowing out a basin. In neither case were these of any size.

At 12 o'clock we came to the wells of et-Towela.

The Towela Wells are many, but only a few had water in them; they were about 20 feet deep, sinking in fact until they met the rock. An old wall crossing the gorge was evidently built to check the water, and is very likely still the mainstay of the wells. It is built for the most part of large dressed blocks. At some little distance up the hill are two flat platforms evidently at some time the site of buildings.

The small path joining these with the principal road in the Wady Haidan is very steep indeed, and it was necessary to breathe our camels twice while ascending. I was interested to find on a rock here the petrified earthen cells of the ichneumon fly. The unopened cells were hardly recognizable from the rock, but one with its funnel-shaped opening was unmistakable; so hard were they that though I used a large stone to dislodge them with, they withstood every attempt. I managed at last to smash one on the rock and found it to contain a greenish powder: the remains of the buried insect.

A large lily, called by the Arabs *Widdin Thamar*—"the ears of the donkey"—owing to its large leaves which somewhat resemble them, was very plentiful, growing in clumps of some ten to fifteen bulbs, with seemingly very little else but the hard rock to feed upon.

The Pilgrim Road in the Wādy Haidan is very marked, and at very close intervals cairns of stones show its course; these, in some places, form an enormous pile, as it is the duty of each Arab when passing to throw his stone on the heap.

As the wādy opens into the plain below, its sides are lined with rough hewn stones. Those were put here in the time of Said Pascha, on the occasion of his mother going on the pilgrimage. The word Haidan in Arabic means "walls," and in these rough stone sides no doubt the origin of its present name is to be found; in two other cases the names of large wādies are to be traced to quite recent events. It is, however, curious that a road so much traversed from earliest times should not retain its old names.

The Bāb el-Haidan has on the south a hill remarkable in its appearance, from the watercourses down its sides. These arrow-shaped excavations in the clay soil, between the thin rocky strata of the hill, are so regular as to give it the resemblance to a large embossed roof of a building.

Gebel Hessen (Hisn), still further to the south, some three-quarters of an hour from the Pilgrim Road is, from its whiteness, a prominent landmark, and is also as regularly furrowed by the rain as Gebel Haidan. There is a legend attached to this hill which all Arabs know:—

A long time ago the pilgrims encamped by the tents of an Arab, near the Wells of eth-Themed. When the pilgrims left he found his sister had been stolen. Mounting his camel he followed the pilgrims from party to party all the way to Mecca, but could not find her. When the time of the pilgrims return came round he searched again, all the way as far as the Gebel Haidan. Then, towards the evening among a party of pilgrims he heard his sister singing, and recognized her voice. During the night he stole the camels of her lover, a Turk. In the morning when the Hadj moved on, the Turk was left behind searching for his beasts. Here the story varies: one version is that the Arab then fell upon him, killed him, and carried back his sister. The other version, and the most popular is, that the Arab drew his sword and cut off the Turk's leg. Upon which the Turk seized his own joint, dealing the Arab such a blow that he fell down and died; the Turk also dying from loss of blood. "Hess," in Arabic, means sound. I do not know whether "Hess'en" comes from the Arab's first hearing his sister's voice here. "Hess el-Arab" is an expression used to denote all sounds connected with an Arab tent, the barking of dogs included.

From the Bāb el-Haidan the Pilgrim Road stretches right across the plain nearly a whole day's journey to the Gebel el-Haneth,

above Nekhl. Two years ago the rain having fallen on the "Bodish," the wādies off the plain afforded pasturage for tribes of Arabs; but here, this year, at least, not one single tent is on the whole expanse.

We saw a small herd of Dorcas gazelles, and just before camping came on a whole covey of sand grouse (Arab name *gattah*); these birds in the desert rely so entirely on the protection given them by their similarity of colour with the ground that they will allow themselves to be knocked down with a stick. It is curious that while running with head crouched, evidently trying to evade detection, they keep up a continual call to each other, which draws notice to them the whole while.

On the third day we passed early in the morning four Arabs with camels carrying charcoal to Suez. This, with wood, is the commonest article of trade with the towns on the other side of the Canal. It is made from the tamarisk bushes of the Wady el-Arish and Wādies Buka and Maithan. A great difficulty exists in the names of wādies as each Arab has his own version.

The Maithan and an arm of the Buka cross the Pilgrim Road; excepting the Būka tributary there are no deep wādies here: the Maithan is merely a wide expanse of wash with hardly any boundaries, but the Wādy el-Būka has made a channel some 9 feet deep, and here the tamarisk grows. These shrubs only grow in the channels.

We put up a bustard while crossing the plain, and though not very common, we saw several at different times; it is called *holara* by the Arabs.

The whole plain stretching from the foot of Yelleg is very flat, and is scoured by small water courses.

One hour before reaching the Hameth there is a slight decline. This is more pronounced from the Gebel el-Hameth to the Wady el-Arish.

Nekhl, with its square fort, is simply a station for the pilgrims to water at; it is on absolutely barren ground. Here lives the governor and ten soldiers; the village by the fort is composed entirely of soldiers or the families of those who were soldiers once. The Peninsula is under the War Office.

All food comes from Suez or Gaza, and those who have any money at all invest it in camels. The years when the Wādy el-Arish is flooded they cultivate small patches of ground round the

town with corn and maize. But sometimes there has not been sufficient scrub even for camels to feed on.

The water is slightly salt and disagreeable to the taste.

The town has one street and from fifteen to twenty mud-brick houses. It may be interesting to note that the Cairo pilgrims took three days to reach Nekhl from Suez. One day to the Haidan, the next they camped in the plains, and early the next day they reached Nekhl. This is easy travelling, but shows the rate at which a big body of men can cross this part. Nekhl is half way between Suez and Akaba.

On leaving Nekhl the road, as far as Ikeram, runs over the open plain, and the undulating ground is uninteresting. The small wadies, marked out by small green bushes, alone relieve the sameness.

The Wady el-Arish, though it took us over one hour to cross from bank to bank, is rarely full even for a few hours. The central channel, curling about in the wide shallow basin of the wady, is marked everywhere by the tamarisk bushes that grow in it. The central or general channel is about 15 to 20 feet deep in most places, and from 20 to 30 feet wide. This central wady was flooded for about four hours, the water reaching about half way up the channel. Some years ago the whole wady was for a short time flooded. This must mean a continuous and very heavy downfall of rain in the hills that feed the source, for two days of really heavy rain had little effect anywhere. The pools were full but none of the wadies had been really flooded. The Wady el-Arish is the worst of the wadies at keeping water. Its pools dry up very quickly.

The Wady Geraia runs parallel to an escarpment of hill which nearly joins the Gebel Ikeram from which they run almost due east. This escarpment is the boundary of very rough ground that joins the Pilgrim Road, this last running through a fairly open space.

The Wady Geraia is a large wady, not so grown with shrub as the Wady el-Arish, the basin is very much cut up, and crossing, except at certain places, on camels is impossible. The Teaha and Barakat sow the wady in good years, but for two years it has been uncultivable owing to the scarcity of rain. They grow barley and Indian corn (*belladi*) principally.

The Comptellet el-Geraia is a mound of tafel on the bank of the main channel, whose course it slightly deflects. There is a

natural rock strata at the top. This is much broken up at one end. Facing Ikeram are the remains of what, at one time, was a small building destroyed by fire, or the site of watch fires. There was wood, simply branches in no way cut up or carpentered, which looked like tarfe to me and also to the Arabs—not Shittim. In the *libris* of burnt mud-bricks, which had at one time been plaster faced, I found traces of plaster on two or three, although only in chips. In its most prosperous days it cannot have been larger than a sentry box. There is just above Meyen (Mayein), or rather the pass leading to it, a small tower in ruins (but the three bottom courses still intact) of blocks of dressed stone. From its position and size it was evidently a watch tower. The building on the Comptellet was of similar size. The wells near the Comptellet have a good supply of clean water, much better than Nekhl, and I should say a greater supply. I remained two days at the Comptellet and saw no one. The whole district had been vacated by the Arabs on account of the lack of rain.

The road from Comptellet el-Geraia to Bir Meyen is a continuous ascent, and as it gradually approaches the small escarpment which joins el-Naga it becomes more stony. There are many circles scattering the ground in various sheltered spots by the way. I never saw any pottery near these circles, nor were they ever more than one layer deep : that is stones as large and as flat as possible taken and placed lengthwise close to each other to form a circle these ; in some cases were floored much in the same way as *balat* are put down in a native house now ; the building up, when such was the case with these circles, must have been difficult. It is curious that in many instances the square and the circular house are attached. The only origin of such a form of house that I can think of, presenting as it does so many more difficulties, must have been the absence of beams to close over a large open space. Arabs when travelling in the present day make these circles to shelter themselves, but there is a very recognizable difference between those of to-day and the old ones. Might they have been enclosures in which to put up and shelter a tent of some description ? Shelters are often built at the back of the tent. I never discovered a mark scratched on one of these circles, though I must have examined over a hundred.

From the point where the road after ascending, descends abruptly into the Bir el-Meyen Valley, stands a small square tower, built of dressed blocks, 12 feet by 18 feet, and now about 4 feet from the

ground. Unless the stones that it was built of have been carried away, the tower was never of any great height.

The valley of Bir el-Meyen might prove interesting: there is evidence of much cultivation in the steps made for irrigation, and also the ruined sites of much building.

The geological formation of the valley is curious. The shape of the rocks at the crest of the hill gives the appearance of a large wall running along it. We saw, but did not speak to the Barakat Arabs. The road from the Bir el-Meyen to the Wādy Lussan, is very narrow, steep, and rocky. The country between the Wādy Lussan and Wādy Um Radin is really very bad for travelling; in some parts the rocks were so abrupt and the path so narrow that it was necessary to choose one's path with great care and to move very slowly. The country all being hostile to my guide, we had to evade all tents as much as possible. The country was very sparsely populated, and we only now and then came in sight of a *Ri* with his camels.

This country, lying between the Wādy Lussan and the Um Radin Wādy, was, without exception, the worst we had crossed: many times we had to pass along very narrow ledges, which were flanked by steep walls of rock on one side and what was equal to a precipice on the other.

There is water in the Wādy Um Radin, but not in any great quantity, though we passed several dry wells in the bottom soil of the wādy. But these communicate with rock basins, rock being the real bottom of the wādy, covered with washdown. It is very narrow, with precipitous sides. The Wādy Um Zaida is merely crossed in reaching the open ground which, bounded by the hills to the north-west, is scoured by many watercourses running to Wādy el-Arish. To the east of the open ground is the Gebel Helal, at the far north end is the Wādy Kadis.

Sheikh Saad, on whose ground this spring is, belongs to the Teaha Arabs; he is now jealous of his rights to the spring which has lately been bringing in a profit he cannot understand, but which he ascribes to its medicinal properties. The tent of Sheikh Saad is to the north side of the spring, on the high undulating ground, which bears much signs of ancient cultivation. A large wall, which I at first hoped belonged to a city, is undoubtedly built for agricultural purposes. There are many stone circles, and these, in some cases, were faced with long, flat, square-cut stones. These

stone circles have, in many cases, been used by the Arabs, the stone floor having been covered with a layer of soil and cultivated. The inscriptions were generally on red sandstone, with a dark outer coat, this was always chosen to chip the *bedden* or camel on. Many of these inscriptions are, I should judge, old, from the weathered appearance of the stone, but many again showed a very similar colour to the chip exposed by myself. In all cases these animals had been cut with the hammering of some blunt pointed instrument. In all cases of these animal-chipped stones, both on the Sinaitic side and on the west bank of the Nile, the *bedden* (*Capra Sinaitica*) is by far the most popular subject. I think they are more common in this form than in any other, for, though a very ordinary subject of conversation with the Arab, they are not often seen.

Sheikh Saad was very tenacious of his rights over the 'Ain. He said that some years ago a Terabin Sheikh brought some people to his well without asking, or rather paying, for his permission, upon which, he told me, he went out and fought him, cutting him severely on the arm.

I lived for two days with Sheikh Saad in his tent. It is right, when approaching an Arab encampment, to enquire for the *Menzil* or "Tent of Alighting"; here, all strangers are accommodated, and the men in the adjoining tents meet as in a club. It is generally near or attached to the Sheikh's tent. In approaching the tents, you do so from the back and not from the front. In the centre of the tent is the pit of cinders, on which smoulders for ever the *bakrag* or coffee pot, with the iron spoon on which the beans of coffee are roasted. When roasted, the beans are ground by a heavy stick in an earthenware bowl (*mashan*). Coffee, which they drink from morning to night, is a thing of some importance to them. A man, when telling a story, having come to a point which he suspects the listeners may have some trouble in swallowing (there are a good many of these) says, looking round the tent, "*wa hat*," some three or four times—this means something like "By the soul of" in English, or "I swear by,"—and, having found nothing in his surroundings sufficiently impressive, the man hits the coffee pot and says "*wa hat el-bakrag*."

In the morning we generally began with a cup of coffee. The Arabs never more than half fill the coffee cup: it is supposed to be very bad manners to give more; the guest also should never accept more than two cups, though the third is offered and passed.

At 11 o'clock the Sheikh generally appeared with a bowl of *halib* (sour milk) in the *twilli* or wooden bowl, for which, by the way, they have here another name that I have forgotten. This is milk poured into a skin, which, from always holding milk and never being cleaned at once turns it. The bowl we were handed held about five pints. It was necessary to swallow a little. Hamed drank the rest by simply pouring it down his throat—it could hardly be called drinking. With this was served a large dish with bread soaked in butter, the bread having been torn in little bits. Between this and the evening meal followed innumerable coffees. In the evening, about sunset, the goats and sheep returned from pasturage. The whole scene became a hubbub, all bleating and running about in a wild and aimless way. The camels took a bee-line through animals, tents and all, to the destruction of anything that came in their way. The very young goats went into the harem-tent, where, in this case, Fatha, and her young son who had just returned on the mare from the cultivated valleys, tied them up. The goats and sheep and well-grown kids fell in at the back of the tent. We, the men, sitting round the fire were loth to leave our place, it being at once taken by a kid—the most impudent of animals—which would often make a successful bolt and put its head into the large bowl of *arsid*. This is a dish of boiled ground barley and mutton fat, of the thickness of mutton broth, which was generally the evening meal. We all sat round this and ate together.

The country round 'Ain Kadis does not give one the idea of being able to support a large town. The well, or rather spring, has not one metre of square surface, and is not more than half a metre deep. Like the whole Peninsula, it depends for its supply of cereals on the more fertile parts of Syria, being, however, in certain years of rainfall, able to support itself.

The red-leg partridge and sand grouse are the commonest birds, and of the former we constantly put up coveys of six and seven.

On returning from 'Ain Kadis, we followed the same road as far as the Wady Um Zaida. This wady we followed up for some time. Its well is very impressive giving much more the appearance of the rock that "Moses" struck. This great rock of the side of the valley has fallen back, and under the wedged shaped aperture thus exposed, in the dark, are the wells, or rather, pools. The path again became difficult, passing over steep ascents and descents on rocky country. Hamish was very keen after red partridges. I have noticed that

all Arabs pull the trigger with the second finger and not the first as is general with us. We camped some way beyond the Wady Lussan. Old Sheikh Saad was a little uncomfortable, having a very marked fear of Azazimeh, in whose country we were.

The country from the Wady Lussan to the Gebel Megra is through a series of deep and narrow wadies, which hide the country round, and make one journey on through narrow passages. Trees in the way are most inconvenient, I escaped one, being torn much in the clothes and slightly in the arm, but was lucky to have so slight an injury. A camel saddle is a most inconvenient affair, holding one in a groove to be crushed by low branches.

Just before Megra, we come on the crest of an escarpment, so steep and high that we had some difficulty in finding a path down and in following it when found. We saw only one goatherd, and a woman driving two donkeys during the day. Here, Sheikh Saad returned, being very anxious to take my blanket with him, as a present. I know nothing an Arab appreciates more than a blanket. Cheap ones I should always recommend as worth taking, for special occasions.

During this part of the day we saw only a few remains, but every now and then a stone circle or a place marked out in square shape, but, near there, I saw no pottery, nor were the stones marked. From Megra to Nekhl, we passed over the same ground as before coming, only by keeping up a little north, on the wells called *El Malah*, the "Salt"; these are some twelve in number, about 18 feet deep, the water is bitter to the taste.

(*To be continued.*)

## METEOROLOGICAL OBSERVATIONS.

## METEOROLOGICAL OBSERVATIONS TAKEN IN JERUSALEM.

By ADOLPH DATZI, Jerusalem.

The following table shows the result of meteorological observations taken in 1909, in Jerusalem, about 2,500 feet above the level of the Mediterranean Sea. They were made at 9 A.M., with the barometer corrected for index error, not for temperature or elevation.

Month & Year 1909.	Barom. ter.	Apt. ther.	Thermometers.						Rain.						Winds.					
			Max.	Min.	Dry Bulb.	Wet Bulb.	Inches.	Days.	N.	N.E.	E.	S.E.	S.	S.W.	W.	N.W.				
January ...	27.476	49	52.1	41.7	47.9	44.9	7.110	11	0	3	1	4	0	8	8	7				
February ...	27.47	40	51.8	41.6	47.1	44.2	3.6	7	0	0	3	3	0	7	9	6				
March ...	27.432	55	65	49.2	58.2	50.5	0.470	6	0	2	3	4	1	6	3	12				
April ...	27.356	57	64.9	49.2	59.1	52.4	5.150	11	2	3	1	5	0	6	0	13				
May ...	27.457	72	84.6	66.3	78.6	62.5	0.545	3	1	7	2	4	1	2	6	8				
June ...	27.460	73	83.2	63.3	76	63.1	...	...	6	3	0	2	0	3	2	14				
July ...	27.350	75	85.6	66.1	78.4	65.9	...	...	3	1	0	1	0	2	6	18				
August ...	27.411	76	86.1	66.7	78.5	65.8	...	...	4	1	1	0	0	2	5	18				
September ...	27.474	73	81.2	64	74.5	65.4	0.160	2	0	4	1	1	0	0	3	3	19			
October ...	27.531	68	74.8	59.5	63.2	60.3	1.690	4	3	4	1	3	0	4	3	13				
November ...	27.539	61	66.3	54	61.9	55.1	0.910	5	0	7	2	1	0	8	4	8				
December ...	27.512	56	58.8	49.6	54.2	49.5	2.035	3	2	9	1	3	2	4	2	8				
Year ...	27.454	53	71.4	57.9	64.2	57.5	21.12	32	21	50	16	30	1	33	45	111				

\* i.e., the thermometer attached to the barometer itself.

METEOROLOGICAL OBSERVATIONS TAKEN IN JERUSALEM—*continued.*

Monthly Mean, 1903.	Barom. in.	Att.* ther.	Thermometers.			Rain. Inches.	Winds.						
			Max.	Min.	Dry bulb.		N.	N.E.	E.	S.E.	S.	S.W.	W.
January ...	27.440	70	40.2	40.6	46.4	45.2	17	1	3	2	2	11	6
February ...	27.442	70	51.8	41.6	50.3	48.5	7.110	10	2	2	0	1	3
March ...	27.440	75	51.8	45.2	53.8	47	2.260	9	2	3	7	5	0
April ...	27.417	75	56.6	51.4	62.2	54.8	2.100	7	0	6	4	2	5
May ...	27.378	77	75.2	60.4	72.3	70	...	...	2	6	6	0	4
June ...	27.372	72	81.1	61.2	74.2	70.8	...	...	1	1	1	0	10
July ...	27.352	72	81.6	62.3	74.9	64	...	...	1	0	0	5	10
August ...	27.342	74	82.9	64.6	76.8	67.6	...	...	0	0	1	2	0
September ...	27.315	71	80.3	62.1	72.5	62.9	...	...	3	1	0	0	21
October ...	27.315	67	76	59	69.7	69.7	...	...	1	7	0	4	13
November ...	27.322	63	63.2	49.1	57.1	59.2	4.470	7	1	6	4	1	5
December ...	27.323	50	51.3	41.3	47.6	44.7	8.320	10	9	4	6	2	3
Year ...	27.400	62	68.9	53.2	63.1	55.3	71.670	57	14	39	30	10	12

\* i.e., the thermometer attached to the barometer itself.

## NOTICES OF NEW BOOKS AND PERIODICALS.

*Egypt and the Egyptians.* By the Rev. J. O. Bevan, M.A., F.G.S., F.S.A., etc. (Allen, London, 1909. 5s. net).

In many ways this book fulfils the writer's aim, which he states in his Introduction to be "to give a full, true, and dramatic representation in a popular form, and to bring within a reasonable compass the salient points of what may be called the life history of this classic period from early times even, up to the present day." It is, in fact, just the book which any intelligent traveller to Egypt should take with him to read on his way there, and to read again when there, for it outlines sufficiently a remote history to which comparatively few have given attention beforehand ; it indicates, in an interesting way, what to expect, what to look for, and the archaeological value of what he will see. Mr. Bevan gives his authority, too, where matters of expert knowledge or opinion are concerned, and his book is clearly and pleasantly written.

The historical chapters dealing with the old civilizations of Egypt and the great empires of Western Asia, as well as those chapters which explain the results of modern exploration and excavation, including the recent literary finds in Egypt, are concise but thoroughly interesting ; they give the reader sufficient to make him understand something of their value, and to enable him to appreciate the uses of such explorations. In fact, Mr. Bevan's book is an admirable manual for any tourist in Egypt who wishes to profit by his journey and to maintain his interest in what he sees.

If a second edition is called for, as may well be expected, some corrections might be made. There is something inapt about such a remark as "no jerry-building here!" (p. 21) when speaking of monuments the result of slave labour, with the knowledge that the residential buildings were mostly of mud. On p. 196 it is stated that Prof. Palmer "was shot, in obedience to the orders of Arabi Pasha." It is well known that he was, with his companion, Mr. Charrington, forced by a party of Arabs to throw himself, or be thrown, from a cliff in the desert. The Nemesis of justice overtook the murderers later. The tragedy of the murder is correctly alluded to on p. 277.

These, and such as these are, however, small defects compared with the pains and industry involved in the preparation of a book so full of matter, necessitating wide reading and no little study. The book may be heartily recommended as a most useful and readable compendium of a very extensive subject.

J. D. C.

*Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology.* Vol. II, No. 4. Mr. T. E. Peet describes two prehistoric terra-cotta figurines from Asia Minor. They represent females, and are deeply incised; the type is schematic, one more conventional than the other. Dr. Hogarth gives a good account of his researches in Carchemish and its neighbourhood; it is illustrated with eight plates. He holds that the modern names of Carchemish, Jerabis (the Arab), Jerablus (the Turkish), are old, and that the latter has not arisen from any confusion with Hierapolis, which lay many miles away. In discussing the earlier name of the city, he sees no positive evidence for identifying it with the Europa, or Oropus, of Appian and other classical writers. Old Hittite monuments from the base of the Acropolis mound have long been known, and Dr. Hogarth reports various other new "finds." He visited the interesting site of Tell-Bashār, an imposing mound which clearly represented some famous city; perhaps, as is suggested, it is the Pitru of the records of Shalmaneser II, and the Pethor of the Old Testament. From Tell Ahmar comes the longest Hittite inscription as yet discovered; also a cuneiform inscription, a note upon which is contributed by Mr. L. W. King. The whole account, with its excellent illustrations, is very welcome for the light it throws upon North Syria and the art and culture of about the tenth to the ninth centuries B.C. Other articles in this issue of the *Annals* deal with Greece and Macedonia and with Roman problems.

Prof. Sayce, in the *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, XXXII, 1 (p. 25 sq.), communicates the figure of an "Amazon" found sculptured on the left-hand stone doorpost of the East Gate of the city wall at Boghuz-Koui. It was discovered by the architects left in charge after the departure of Prof. Winckler and Maeridi Bey, and they describe it as a "king." Miss Dodd, of Constantinople, has forwarded a sketch and a photograph, with the opinion that it is a woman, "certainly a woman-warrior—an Amazon." Prof. Sayce finds in it a welcome support to the view long maintained by him, that "the Amazons of Greek tradition represented the Hittites, and that they had their origin in the armed priestesses of the goddess Ma."

In the *Mitteilungen u. Nachrichten des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins*, 1909, No. 6; 1910, No. 1, Dr. Julius Boehmer continues his study of the Mohammedan cemeteries around Jerusalem. He notes the preference for burial in family graves, describes some of the burial ceremonies, and gives a very good account of the leading types of tombs. Several specimens of funeral inscriptions are quoted, and the whole article is elucidated by a number of illustrations and cuts.

The *Zeitschrift* of the above Society (Vol. XXXIII, heft 1, 1910) opens with some archaeological notes from East Jordan, by Dr. P. Thomsen. Between Sūf and 'Ain Jenneh, he found the remains of some stone construction, with steps hewn in the rock—apparently a former rock-hewn

altar. If this be so, 'Ain Jenneh was presumably an ancient centre of cult, since rock altars are found only at the more important sites. Proceeding northwards beyond Irbid (Arbela), Dr. Thomsen visited Bêt Râs, where many small objects have been brought to light from time to time. Dr. Thomsen saw glass objects, lamps, bowls, figurines (e.g., a clay representation of a sitting Astarte), Egyptian statuettes, etc. Rich. E. Funke describes a burial-place in the Wâdy en-Nâr, with some remains of paintings. Dr. Hölscher contributes notes on the Jordan Valley south of Beth-Shean. He identifies Abel-Meholah with Tell el-Hamni. To the east lies the spring 'Ain es-Sâkût; the ruins of *Kh. es-Sâkût* are too unimportant to represent the Old Testament Succoth, which should be sought on the north bank of the *Nahr ez-Zerkâ*, and probably at the hill *Tell der 'Allâ*, the *Tarâti*, which the Talmud identifies with Succoth. The Biblical Zaphor (*Sôphîr*) appears to be the same as the *Asôphîr* of Josephus (*Ant.*, XIII, 125), which should lie between *Wâdy l-Himâr* and *Wâly l-'Arab*. Zeredah, or Zererah (2 Chron. iv, 17, etc.), the Septuagint *Zapci'a*, survives in *Tell es-Sârim*, which is also called *Tell es-Sâri*. Salem (John iii, 23) is preserved in *Wely Shekh Sâlim*. To Dr. Thomsen's work, *Loca Sancta* (an invaluable dictionary of the Palestinian place-names in sources of the first six centuries of this era), Dr. Samuel Klein contributes supplementary notes and corrections, and his article is followed by a further list of addenda by Dr. Thomsen himself.

*Das Palästinische Arabisch.* By Leonhard Bauer (Hinrichs, Leipzig, 1910. 6 marks).

This handbook deals with the modern Arabic of Palestine, both the dialect of the towns, of commerce, etc., and that of the fellahin, especially in the neighbourhood of Jerusalem. Although the two dialects are handled together, care has been taken to treat the forms separately, and, by means of lines and other devices, to prevent the reader from confusing the two. For ordinary purposes those who use the book may desire to study only one of the dialects, but, as the author points out, a comparison of the two is very instructive, and, for many purposes, it is highly necessary. The book aims at giving the student a good working knowledge of modern Arabic, and certainly succeeds in compressing a great deal of material into very small compass. It contains an Introduction on the consonants, vowels, and the tone (pp. 1-15), a detailed grammar (pp. 16-97), a concise treatment of the syntax (pp. 98-126), a series of graduated exercises, arranged with the Arabic on one side of the page, and a German translation opposite (pp. 128-159). Finally, an extensive chrestomathy contains selections of prose and poetry, conversations, proverbs, weights and measures, with translation as before (pp. 161-255). Provided one can read German, this handy book should prove indispensable to all who wish to obtain a sound knowledge of the language of Palestine.

*La Religion Assyro-Babylonienne.* By P. Paul Dhorme (Gabalda and Co., Paris, 1910).

The book consists of lectures delivered by the eminent Assyriologist at the "Catholic Institute of Paris" last year. His competence to deal with this subject is well-known, and one is glad to have a fresh survey of the evidence. Father Dhorme has a perfect acquaintance with the entire field of Assyriological research, and handles an immense array of facts with a lightness which makes his book interesting and easy reading. The first lecture is a general introduction—geographical, ethnical, historical—concisely sketching the field of operations. In the second ("the Conception of the Divine") he considers the various kinds of supernatural beings—the restless dead, the good and evil spirits, the protecting genii, the forces of nature, the "Bails," or lords, or owners, and the heavenly deities, etc. He is careful to point out that the evidence for a certain *cult* of the dead does not show any *worship* of the dead who, in fact, are often dependent upon the living, and always inferior to the recognized gods. The third lecture describes the more prominent gods, who, like terrestrial grandees, have their families and attendants. A very interesting chapter then discusses the relation between the gods and the city, the great antiquity of the kingly city-gods, the veneration they invariably received at the hands of earthly monarchs, who were their representatives, etc. Such gods had their plot of land and a "house" or temple, where they held court; the tributary villages, cities or lands, are their tributaries, and warring kings conducted their campaigns in the service of their divine masters. Thus, wars were not merely between peoples, but also between their national deities, whose symbols or images accompanied the armies. The fifth lecture on "the Gods and the Kings" is an admirable synthetic account of that very widespread doctrine, the "divine kingship," familiar to most English readers through Prof. Frazer's researches. The Babylonian evidence is very carefully classified, and when viewed along with the Egyptian data, with which, of course Prof. Dhorme is not concerned, we gain a very striking picture of a circle of ideas which, as we can see from the Old Testament itself, must have prevailed also in Palestine. The next lecture deals with the gods and men—traditions of creation, the supernatural element in birth and death, health and sickness, man's protecting deity, divine revelations, oracles, etc. In the seventh we approach the often-discussed question of the relationship between religion and morality, and the conclusion that religion was also an official and national affair, combining religious, civil and moral duties, seems only natural. All law could be summed up in the one word "justice"; it is for this the kings were chosen and appointed by the gods, who were the judges. "Sin" against a god and "rebellion" against a king are expressed by the same word (p. 232), and Prof. Dhorme defines the former as all that which excites the divine

wrath. Other preliminary problems arise in the eighth lecture, "Prayer and Sacrifice" (namely, the relation between prayers and magical formulæ and the original significance of sacrificial rites). This is a clearly-written description of the chief features of Babylonian cult, although here, and occasionally elsewhere, one would have been glad if the author could have given us some idea of the *date* of certain pieces of evidence. The last chapter deals with the priesthood. The king was, in reality, the high-priest of the national god, the intermediary between the gods and men ; the priest embodied a variety of functions—diviner, sorcerer, magician, etc.—although he, too, may be but the delegate or incarnation of the deity. The book, as will be seen, is full of all kinds of interesting information, and if a relatively large amount of space has been devoted to it here, it is because Palestinian religion cannot be studied apart from the religions of the neighbouring lands, and Prof. Dhorme's work is the latest and one of the best accounts of a religion which throws much light upon both the Old Testament and the religious archaeology of Palestine. His standing as an Assyriologist guarantees the accuracy of his details, and if there is room for criticism it is in his general attitude to comparative religion (pp. viii, 197, etc.). This, however, is a slight matter, for although Father Dhorme appears to object to the emphasis which anthropology lays upon animism, totemism, etc., his lucid treatment of the divine kingship (Ch. V) of the protecting deity which can inhabit the body of its "son" (p. 199), of the anthropomorphic ideas (p. 270), and of many other features, is quite sufficient to show that if the Babylonians had not "des grossières conceptions du sauvage sur la nature et les dieux" (p. viii), they had at least conceptions which can be interpreted and understood only from the religions of less progressive peoples.

These remarks bring one to an extremely interesting article by Prof. Georg Foucart in *Sphinx*, Vol. XIII, fasc. iii, pp. 122–143. This well-known periodical is devoted to Egyptology and not infrequently contains material of utility for Semitic studies, and the article in question is worthy of notice because, although it is concerned with anthropological studies and Egyptology, it applies with equal force, *mutatis mutandis*, to Palestinian research. Prof. Foucart points out that his study has reached the stage where, if any progress is to be made, it must look to other branches of knowledge for help and guidance. At the same time, there are certain other branches of knowledge which are not confined to a single area, but are wont to search for material all the world over. Of such a kind are anthropology, ethnology and comparative religion. It may be disconcerting to the specialist in an Oriental field to see the intrusion of these other departments, but if he does not grapple with them he may find himself ignored in the future. One can point, with Prof. Foucart, to specialist Oriental investigations which suffer seriously simply because they have paid insufficient attention to the ancillary studies, and in like manner there are the works which equally suffer

seriously because they have only an imperfect knowledge of the progress of research in this or the other Oriental field. It is with this interrelation of studies that Prof. Foucart deals, this inevitable intrusion of specialists in one department upon other fields where, in the nature of the case, they are not necessarily at home. Nevertheless these investigations in anthropology, comparative religion, etc., will be carried on by some one, even if Oriental students do not interest themselves in them; and the more the comparative studies gain recognition, the higher the standard of competence which will be expected of him who works in a narrow specialist field. The complexity of the situation lies, as Prof. Foucart recognizes, in the fact that everywhere the studies are incomplete. The purely "comparative" studies are very largely in an incipient stage, the purely "Oriental" studies (whether Egyptian, Assyrian, Palestinian) are hampered by grave problems, some of them essentially fundamental. Consequently, true progress can only be made all along the line by a hearty recognition of the extent to which any particular study depends upon another. If an excuse is necessary for referring at this length to Prof. Foucart's article it is to be found in the peculiarly complex character of the field with which the *Q.S.* is concerned. Its interests extend from the Palestine of to-day to the earliest evidence brought to light by excavation. Thus, there is a range of 5,000 years at least, or, if one only reckons back to the days of the XII<sup>th</sup> Egyptian dynasty, or of the great Hammurabi of Babylon, the Palestine of history covers the respectable amount of 4,000 years! And this field is unique not only for its religious associations, but for the relative abundance of evidence which it furnishes for conditions in ancient, mediaeval and modern times, and these conditions are so similar that they form *en masse* a single background in the light of which one can more distinctly understand and estimate the particular conditions at a given period when the historical evidence happens to be adequate. It is a field which in itself offers abundant room for purely specialist research; it is also a field which, owing to exceptional circumstances, affords an opportunity for testing in the light of its history some of those theories and hypotheses of the "comparative" school which are based upon great accumulations of material from all parts of the world, from diverse grades of humanity, living in all kind of religious, historical, and sociological conditions. If I understand Prof. Foucart aright, his attitude as an Egyptologist towards "comparative" research is one of sincerest appreciation mingled with a very justifiable reserve— "comparative" research is an invaluable servant but a bad master. Such at all events seems to be also the soundest attitude of him who works upon the Palestinian field.

*Revue Biblique*, Jan., 1910. Prof. Savignac gives an interesting discussion of the conquest of Jericho (Josh. vi, 1-20). He begins with a study of

the Hebrew text and the Greek and Latin versions, and examines the numerous differences; he notes the various internal difficulties which point to the combination of two or more records of the capture; upon the relation between the details and the actual results of excavation (see *Q.S.*, 1910, p. 63 *sq.*) he does not touch. To him also is due an account of a visit to some of the burial-places between Jerusalem and Samaria (*Kh. al-Fukhaikhir*, *Kh. Karkash*, *D'r ed-Derb*). Prof. Dhorme contributes the opening instalment of "The Bible Lands and Assyria." It is a continuation of an earlier series of articles on the Amarna Letters, and their bearing upon Bible Lands, and proposes to summarize the results of the most recent discoveries. In the present issue he covers the age from the close of the Amarna period to the middle of the ninth century. Prof. Abel continues his account of a cruise on the Dead Sea. In the *Bulletin* is a courteous criticism of my article on the Old Hebrew Alphabet, etc. (*Q.S.*, 1909, pp. 284-309). I hope to be able to return to this and other criticisms in the near future; in the meanwhile, I may say at once that my failure to refer to the linguistic features of the Gezer Tablet, as a support to my argument for dating it about the sixth century, was intentional. I simply cannot persuade myself at present that the text contains Aramaisms in spite of the fact that this is the view of such authorities as Prof. Vincent and Prof. Marti.

S. A. C.

## TRANSLITERATION OF HEBREW AND ARABIC.

<b>בּ</b>	' or at beginning of word omit.	<b>כּ</b>	k ( <i>or kh</i> ).
<b>בּ</b>	b.	<b>לּ</b>	l.
<b>בּ</b>	b ( <i>or bh</i> ).	<b>מּ</b>	m.
<b>גּ</b>	g.	<b>נּ</b>	n.
<b>גּ</b>	g ( <i>or gh</i> ).	<b>סּ</b>	s.
<b>דּ</b>	d.	<b>ׁ</b>	ׁ.
<b>דּ</b>	d ( <i>or dh</i> ).	<b>פּ</b>	p.
<b>הּ</b>	h.	<b>ׂ</b>	p ( <i>or ph</i> ).
<b>רּ</b>	w, v.	<b>׃</b>	s.
<b>זּ</b>	z.	<b>ׄ</b>	ׄ.
<b>חּ</b>	h ( <i>or h, never l</i> ).	<b>׆</b>	s ( <i>or š</i> ).
<b>טּ</b>	t.	<b>ׇ</b>	sh ( <i>or š</i> ).
<b>יּ</b>	y.	<b>׈</b>	t.
<b>כּ</b>	k.	<b>׉</b>	t ( <i>or th</i> ).

<b>בּ</b>	' or at beginning of word omit.	<b>סּ</b>	s.
<b>בּ</b>	b.	<b>ׁ</b>	d.
<b>תּ</b>	t.	<b>ׂ</b>	t.
<b>תּ</b>	th.	<b>׃</b>	z.
<b>גּ</b>	j ( <i>or g</i> ).	<b>׆</b>	׆.
<b>חּ</b>	h.	<b>ׇ</b>	gh ( <i>or g</i> ).
<b>חּ</b>	kh ( <i>or h</i> ).	<b>׈</b>	f.
<b>דּ</b>	d.	<b>׉</b>	k ( <i>or q</i> ).
<b>דּ</b>	dh.	<b>׊</b>	k.
<b>רּ</b>	r.	<b>׋</b>	l.
<b>זּ</b>	z.	<b>׌</b>	m.
<b>סּ</b>	s.	<b>׍</b>	n.
<b>שּ</b>	sh ( <i>or š</i> ).	<b>׏</b>	h.
		<b>׏</b>	w.
		<b>׏</b>	y.

ׁ = au. ׂ = ai.

Long vowels marked thus, â, î, û.



THE  
PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND.

NOTES AND NEWS.

**En Memoriam.**

**HIS MAJESTY KING EDWARD VII.**

(PATRON OF THE PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND SINCE JULY, 1901.)

**DIED ON MAY 6, 1910.**

THE Palestine Exploration Fund has to deplore the lamented death of our late Sovereign, who among his manifold duties and interests, was also its Patron in succession to Queen Victoria. Her Majesty, it may be recalled, was among the first who started the work of exploration and excavation in Palestine by contributing towards the Fund at its inception. To quote from the notice in the *Quarterly Statement*, April, 1901: "The Queen always recognized that the primary object of the Fund was to aid in making the Bible better known and understood by a systematic study of the archaeology, natural history, and physical geography of the Holy Land, and of the manners, customs, and arts of its inhabitants. And it was because anything that directly or indirectly serves to throw light upon the sacred page is thus earnestly and perseveringly sought for and fearlessly welcomed by the Palestine Exploration Fund, come it from what source it may, that Her Majesty was pleased to evince her continued interest in its operations. Even before the inception of these, the [late] king, by Her Majesty's desire, visited the Holy Land in the spring of 1862, under the guidance of Dean Stanley, who was afterwards one of the founders of our

"association. And the subsequent visits to Palestine of so many members of the Royal Family, in order that they might thus be afforded an opportunity for the better appreciation of the history and records of our religion, were due to Her Majesty's initiative." During the late king's visit the opportunity was taken to arrange a journey to Hebron and the Cave of Machpelah, an interesting description of which is given by Dean Stanley in his *Lectures on the History of the Jewish Church*, and more fully in an appendix to *Sermons preached in the East before the Prince of Wales*. There is little doubt that this visit to one of the most sacred of Mohammedan shrines, was an event not merely of interest in itself, but of incalculable value for the furtherance of Palestinian research. Dean Stanley describes the extreme reluctance before permission was granted, the significant measures taken to quieten a fanatical population, and the wide-spread belief—"an awe amounting to terror"—that this "intrusion" would have dire results. In narrating the movements of the royal party within the mosque, he quotes the words of one of the guardians: "The princes of any other nation should have passed over my dead body sooner than enter. But to the eldest son of the Queen of England we are willing to accord even this privilege." And time and again he repeated "that it would have been opened to no one less than the representative of England." Twenty years later Queen Victoria desired that the Princes Albert Victor and George of Wales should have the same facilities of access to all places of interest, and the Rev. Canon Dalton, who accompanied them, expressly drew attention to the absence of those difficulties which had been put in the way of the former visit (*Q.S.*, 1882, pp. 193-5). The striking change in the attitude of the authorities and of the population to reverent and scientific investigation was as Dean Stanley had anticipated. "The result of the Prince's visit," he writes, "will have been disappointing to those who expected a more direct solution of the mysteries of Hebron. But it has not been without its indirect benefits . . . . it has tended towards the removal of the bar of exclusion from this interesting spot. The relaxation may in future times be slight and gradual, and the advantage gained must be used with every caution; but it is impossible not to feel that some effect will be produced even on the devotees of Hebron, when they feel that the Patriarchs have not suffered any injury or affront . . . indeed . . . the next day such an effect might be discerned. Dr. Rosen had predicted beforehand,

that, if the entrance were once made, no additional precautions need be provided . . . . although we were still accompanied by a small escort, yet the rigid vigilance of the previous day was relaxed, and no indications appeared of any annoyance or anger. And Englishmen may fairly rejoice that this advance in the cause of religious tolerance (if it may be so called) and of Biblical knowledge, was attained in the person of the heir to the English throne, out of regard to the position which he and his country hold in the Eastern world." In joining with the whole world in lamenting the death of a beloved Sovereign, the Palestine Exploration Fund has also to lament the death of one who may justly be said to have contributed in very real manner to facilitate the aims which it has in view.

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The following resolution, passed at a meeting of the Executive Committee of the Fund, was signed by the Archbishop of Canterbury, as President, and by the Chairman, Sir Charles M. Watson :—

**"TO HIS MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY THE KING.**

" May it please Your Majesty,

" We, the President and Committee, on behalf of the subscribers of the Palestine Exploration Fund, beg leave humbly to offer our deep and heartfelt sympathy in the loss which Your Majesty, the Members of the Royal Family, and the Nation have sustained by the death of Your Royal Father, our late most Gracious Sovereign King Edward VII, whom we mourn, not only as the beloved Ruler of this Great Empire, but as the Gracious Patron of this Society.

" We most respectfully tender to Your Majesty our sincere devotion and loyalty on Your accession to the Throne, and earnestly pray that it may please The Almighty to grant Your Majesty and Your Royal Consort Queen Mary a long, happy, and peaceful reign."

(Signed)

RANDALL CANTUAR., *President.*

CHARLES M. WATSON, *Chairman of  
Executive Committee.*

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The King has graciously conveyed to the Archbishop of Canterbury, the President of the Fund, His Majesty's consent to become Patron of the Palestine Exploration Fund in succession to His late Majesty King Edward.

The Annual General Meeting of the Fund was held on Monday, June 13th. As on former occasions, the managers of the Royal Institution very kindly lent their hall. The chair was taken by the Very Rev. George Adam Smith, D.D., LL.D., Litt.D., Principal of the University of Aberdeen, and there was a large attendance. A full account of the proceedings is given in this issue, and we desire to call attention, in the first place, to the remarks on the forthcoming Memoir of the excavation of Gezer, which Prof. Stewart Macalister is preparing. The expense of publishing an adequate record of the work is, especially in view of the numerous illustrations which are required, extremely heavy; and it is necessary to emphasize the need of increasing the financial support upon which the Executive Committee can rely, in order to make the volumes a fitting record of the unselfish labours of Prof. Macalister, and a helpful guide for the subsequent researches of English, American, and other scholars. As was pointed out by the Chairman, not only has the excavation of Gezer been a means of increasing, to an unlooked for extent, scientific knowledge of early Palestine, it has also produced, "for the apologist for the religion of Israel, or for the apologist of Christianity, . . . some of the most powerful arguments and material that they can possibly enjoy."

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At the Annual Meeting the announcement was also made of the proposal of the Fund to excavate at 'Ain [esh-]Shems, the site of Beth Shemesh. The place lies in the debatable district between Judah and the Philistines; it has an important strategie position, and, from the references to it in the Old Testament, and other evidence, certainly held a prominent part in history. The name, too, "House of the Sun," has an interesting meaning for solar cults, and the actual site has every indication of being rich in remains. Fuller descriptions of the place and its surroundings will be found in the speeches at the Meeting, and in a separate article. The work of excavation is entrusted to Dr. Mackenzie, an accomplished scholar and a skilled archaeologist; he is already out in the East, and a start will be made at the earliest possible opportunity. Provided that adequate financial assistance be given to the Fund, the mound will be thoroughly laid bare and its full importance for Palestinian religion and history completely recovered.

In the *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, Mr. E. J. Pilcher submits the Jewish royal pottery stamps to a very searching investigation from an archaeological point of view, and brings forward evidence which tends to place them in the Persian age. The devices on the stamps, which he succeeds in associating with the art and symbolism of that age, are also dealt with by Mr. F. W. Read in the present issue, who produces further considerations in support of Mr. Pilcher's conclusions. These supplementary confirmations to the study of the palaeographical details (*Q.S.*, Oct., 1909), are of much interest. Apropos of Hebrew palaeography, mention may here be made of a note from Commandant A. Lipman, of Versailles, suggesting that the modern Hebrew cursive and Rabbinical forms may preserve traces of the old character, and that the various points of resemblance may prove that the ancient alphabet was not entirely lost to view when the Jews took over the Aramaic Script.

Much interest was aroused in the Arabic astrological treatise published by Miss Gladys Dickson in the *Quarterly Statement* during 1908-9, and the Committee decided to issue it separately in book form. It will be remembered that it was a treatise by a Jerusalem Christian native, and was found by an Arab lying amid an accumulation of things in a house which he had bought. It contained a great deal of very curious material, carefully classified, and was in several respects quite unique. Miss Dickson prefixed a table of the star-names and added explanatory notes to the translation, and the reprint will undoubtedly be valued by those interested in the subject. It can be had by applying to the Secretary (price 1s., post free).

It may be well to mention that plans and photographs alluded to in the reports from Jerusalem and elsewhere cannot all be published, but they are preserved in the office of the Fund, where they may be seen by subscribers. Those which were sent by Mr. Macalister, illustrating the excavations at Gezer and which were not reproduced in his quarterly reports, have been held over for the final Memoir.

The income of the Society from March 16th, 1910, to June 16th, 1910, was—from Annual Subscriptions and Donations, including Local Societies, £194 16s. 3d.; from Lectures, £8 10s. 0d.

from sales of publications, etc., £57 8s. 10d.; making in all, £260 15s. 3d. The expenditure during the same period was £460 17s. 2d. On June 16th the balance in the bank was £701 10s. 10d.

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Subscribers who have not yet paid will greatly facilitate the Committee's efforts by sending their subscriptions in early, and thus save the expense of sending out reminders. Special donations during the quarter have been received from:—

	£	s.	d.
James Melrose, Esq. ... ... ... ...	5	0	0
Do. (Don. for Beth-Shemesh Ex- cavations) ... ... ... ...	5	0	0
W. Herbert Phillips, Esq. ... ... ... ...	5	0	0
Prof. G. A. Smith (Don. to publication of Gezer Memoir) ... ... ... ...	2	0	0
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	£17	0	0
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Subscribers to the Fund are reminded that, whilst the receipt of every subscription and contribution is promptly acknowledged by the Assistant Secretary, they are now published annually, and not quarterly. A complete List of Subscribers and Subscriptions for 1909 is given in the Annual Report published with the April number.

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The Committee will be glad to communicate with ladies and gentlemen willing to help the Fund as Honorary Secretaries.

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The attention of those interested in the subject of the Exodus of the Israelites is called to the map of the "Desert of the Wanderings," from Mount Hor on the east to the Suez Canal on the west, and from Mount Sinai in the south to Beersheba in the north, which has been compiled by the War Office, and is based principally upon the sketch surveys of the Palestine Exploration Fund (scale 4 miles to the inch). In eight sheets, price 1s. 6d. per sheet.

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The first edition of Mr. Macalister's work, *Bible Sidelights from the Mounds of Gezer*, was quickly sold out, and a second

edition is now on sale. It has been written to show how the results of digging in Palestine should appeal not only to the scientific anthropologist or archaeologist, but also to the Bible student who has no special interest in these sciences. The book contains a brief synopsis of the work of the Fund from its foundation to the present, and a description of the site of Gezer, and its history. Price 5s. 4d., post free.

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As we go to press, we learn that the Rev. J. E. Hanauer has made important discoveries of columns near the Great Mosque at Damascus, which indicate the existence of a great colonnade extending eastward from the Eastern Entrance to the old Roman Enclosure and parallel with Straight Street. Besides these, other fragments, all of which will be reported in detail in a future issue of the *Quarterly Statement*.

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*Golgotha and the Holy Sepulchre*, the last work of the late Major-General Sir Charles Wilson, K.C.B., K.C.M.G., F.R.S., D.C.L., LL.D., etc. In this work the late Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Palestine Exploration Fund has brought together for the first time all the evidence which the most exhaustive research enabled him to collect bearing on the subject of these Holy Sites; and probably no man living had at once so intimate a knowledge of all investigations in the modern Jerusalem and so complete an acquaintance with what has been written about the Sites from the time of Constantine onwards. The price of the work (denry 8vo) is 6s., by post 6s. 4d., and cheques should be made payable to the order of the Secretary to the Fund, and crossed "Coutts & Co."

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*Judas Maccabeus*, by Colonel C. R. Conder, R.E. This interesting little book was among those of which the whole edition was destroyed in the fire at Messrs. Bain's warehouse in 1907. It has been reprinted and can again be supplied (4s. 6d.) on application to the Secretary.

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The attention of subscribers and others is called to *A Table of the Christian and Mohammedan Eras*, from July 15th, A.D. 622, the date of the Hejira, to A.D. 1900; price by post, 7d. Also to the *Meteorological Observations at Jerusalem*, with tables and diagrams by the late

Mr. James Glaisher, F.R.S. Tourists and all desirous of accurate information about the climate of Jerusalem should not fail to send for a copy, price 2s. 6d.

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The attention of subscribers is also called to a work by Sir Charles Warren, entitled *The Ancient Cubit and our Weights and Measures*. He brings evidence to show that all weights and measures (except those of the metrical system) are derived from one source—the double-cubit cubed of Babylonia.

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Many readers will be interested to know that a reprint of Mr. Armstrong's book, *Names and Places in the Old and New Testaments*, is now ready. The book has been out of print for some years, but has been frequently enquired for.

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The *Flora of Syria, Palestine, and Sinai*, by the Rev. George E. Post, M.D., Beirut, Syria, containing descriptions of all the Phaenogams and Aerogens of the region, and illustrated by 441 woodcuts, may be had at the office of the Fund, price 21s.

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The Museum and Library of the Palestine Exploration Fund at Jerusalem are in the Bishop's Buildings, near the Tombs of the Kings, where the use of a room has been kindly permitted by the Rev. Dr. Blyth, Bishop in Jerusalem and the East. The Museum is open daily, except Sundays, and the Honorary Secretary, Dr. E. W. G. Masterman, will give all information necessary.

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Subscribers in U.S.A. to the work of the Fund will please note that they can procure copies of any of the publications from the Rev. Prof. Lewis B. Paton, Ph.D., Honorary General Secretary to the Fund, 50, Forest Street, Hartford, Conn.

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Subscribers and others may be reminded that the smaller Raised Map of Palestine, constructed from the Surveys of the Palestine Exploration Fund by the late George Armstrong is ready. It is on the scale of 6½ miles to the inch and measures 3' 6" × 2' 6". It has already been used with

great success by Professors of Old Testament history, and by teachers in Sunday Schools, and may be especially recommended for large classes of students. On view at the office of the Fund; further particulars may be had on application.

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A complete set of the *Quarterly Statements*, 1869-1908, containing the early letters (now scarce), with an Index, 1869-1892, bound in the Palestine Exploration Fund cases, can be had. Price on application to the Secretary, 38, Conduit Street, W.

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The price of a complete set of the translations published by the Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society, in 13 volumes, with general index, bound in cloth, is £10 10s. A catalogue describing the contents of each volume can be had on application to the Secretary, 38, Conduit Street, W.

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Photographs of the late Dr. Schick's models (1) of the Temple of Solomon, (2) of the Herodian Temple, (3) of the Haram Area and Justinian's Church, and (4) of the Haram Area as it is at present, have been received at the office of the Fund. The four photographs, with an explanation by Dr. Schick, can be purchased by applying to the Secretary, 38, Conduit Street, W.

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Branch Associations of the Bible Society, all Sunday Schools within the Sunday School Institute, the Sunday School Union, and the Wesleyan Sunday School Institute, will please observe that by a special Resolution of the Committee they will henceforth be treated as subscribers and be allowed to purchase the books and maps (by application only to the Secretary) at reduced prices.

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The Museum at the office of the Fund, 38, Conduit Street (a few doors from Bond Street), is open to visitors every week-day from 10 o'clock till 5, except Saturdays, when it is closed at 2 p.m.

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The Committee have to acknowledge with thanks, among other journals and books, the following :—

*Society of Biblical Archaeology*, 1910, III and IV: The Jewish royal Pottery-stamps, by E. J. Pilcher; Hittite monuments of Cappadocia, by Guillaume de Jerphanion.

*Expository Times*, 1910, May: The German Excavations at Jericho, by E. de Knevett.

*American Journal of Archaeology*, 1910, I: Greek inscriptions from the Negeb, by N. Schmidt.

*The Biblical World*, 1910, Feb.-May : Excavations in Palestine, and The early religion of Palestine, by D. D. Luckenbill ; April no. : Semitic prophecy, by J. M. P. Smith.

*Sphinx*, Vol. XIII, fasc. 5, 6 ; Vol. XIV, fasc. 1.

*Journal Asiatique*, Nov.-Dec., 1909 ; Jan.-Feb., 1910.

*Interprétations erronées et faux monuments*, by Lazare Belléli.

*Extraits du Congrès Prehistorique de France*: Camps et Enceintes (1907) ; Sur les Anses Multiforées à trous de suspension verticaux (1909) ; Quelques pièces à remarquer de la Céramique Néolithique de Provence (1910), by Dr. Adrien Guébhard.

*Bulletin de la Société Prehist. de France*, 1910 : Presses et moulins à Huile Primitifs, by M. S. Clastrier.

*Quelques Remarques sur l'Orpheus de M. Salomon Reinach* : by R. P. M.-J. Lagrange.

*Notes et Études d'Archéologie Orientale*, by P. S. Ronzevalle, S.J. Monuments palmyréniens ; le boeuf bossu en Syrie ; *nefesh* rupestres.

*Conférences de Saint-Étienne (École pratique d'Études Bibliques)*, 1909-1910 : Les origines babylonniennes, by R. P. Dhorme ; À travers les papyrus grecs, by R. P. Lagrange ; Mesures de capacité des Hébreux au temps de l'Évangile, by R. P. Germer-Durand ; Au bord du lac de Tibériade, by Dom Zéphyrin Biever ; Mambré, by R. P. Abel ; Marc Diacre et sa biographe de Saint Porphyre, évêque de Gaza, by R. P. Abel ; Un arabe patriarche de Jérusalem, Saint Élie, by R. P. Génier.

*Registre des Monnaies équivalentes anciennes et modernes* : Journal du Temple de Paris, 1295-1296. L. Deslisle.

*Échos d'Orient*, May, 1910.

*Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique*, Jan.-April, 1910.

*Al-Mashrik* : Revue Catholique Orientale Mensuelle, 1910, March.

*Atti della R. Accademia dei Lincei*, 1909. Fasc. II : report on Oriental shrine found at Rome in 1909.

The Committee also beg to acknowledge with thanks the following books presented by Mrs. Ross Scott :—

*City of the Great King*. By Dr. Barclay.

*Narrative of the Operations and Discoveries within the Pyramids, Temples, Tombs, and Excavations in Egypt and Nubia* (2 vols.). By G. Belzoni.

*The Pharaohs and their People*. By E. Berkeley.

*The Lebanon* (2 vols.). By David Urquhart.

*A Journey from Aleppo to Jerusalem.* By Henry Maundrell, M.A.

*Lectures on Hieroglyphics.* By the Marquis Spineto.

*Egypt of the Pharaohs and of the Kedivé.* By F. Barham Zincke.

*The Exodus Papyri.* By the Rev. D. I. Heath, M.A.

*History of Phoenicia.* By Prof. Rawlinson.

*The Monumental History of Egypt* (2 vols.). By William Osburn.

See further below, pp. 234 sqq.

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The Committee will be glad to receive donations of Books to the Library of the Fund, which already contains many works of great value relating to Palestine and other Bible lands. A catalogue of Books in the Library will be found in the July *Quarterly Statement*, 1893.

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For list of authorized lecturers and their subjects, see end of the Journal, or write to the Secretary.

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Whilst desiring to give publicity to proposed identifications and other theories advanced by officers of the Fund and contributors to the pages of the *Quarterly Statement*, the Committee wish it to be distinctly understood that by publishing them in the *Quarterly Statement* they do not necessarily sanction or adopt them.

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The Committee desire to draw the attention of Subscribers to the Banker's Order Form enclosed, the use of which would greatly facilitate the administrative work of the Fund.

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#### FORM OF BEQUEST TO THE PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND.

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I give to the Palestine Exploration Fund, London, the sum of \_\_\_\_\_ to be applied towards the General Work of the Fund; and I direct that the said sum be paid, free of Legacy Duty, and that the Receipt of the Treasurer of the Palestine Exploration Fund shall be a sufficient discharge for the same.

NOTE.—Three Witnesses are necessary to a Will by the Law of the United States of America, and Two by the Law of the United Kingdom.

THE ANNUAL MEETING OF  
THE PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND.

THE Forty-fifth Annual General Meeting of the above Fund was held at the Royal Institution, Albemarle Street, London, W., on Monday, June 13th, 1910, when the Very Rev. George Adam Smith, D.D., LL.D., Litt.D., Principal of the University of Aberdeen, occupied the Chair.

The HON. SECRETARY (Mr. J. D. Crace) read letters expressing regret, owing to inability to attend the Meeting, from the following:—The Rev. Canon Bonney, Sir Henry Trotter, Rev. Prof. Cheyne, Rev. W. F. Clarkson, Rev. W. Ewing.

Continuing, the HON. SECRETARY said:—I thought it was interesting to have Prof. Cheyne's letter with me to read, because he is so distinguished a man, that everybody would feel interested in knowing he continues to take great interest in the work of the Fund. He says:—

Dear SIR,

“It is with much regret I find myself unable to attend the Annual Meeting of the Committee on June 13th. More especially do I regret that I shall miss the pleasure of hearing the address of the accomplished Principal of Aberdeen University, who, I am sure, will communicate his own ardent enthusiasm to his audience. I wish I could do much more for the Fund which has such great prospects of exploring work before it.”

Yours faithfully,

(Signed)

The CHAIRMAN.—Sir Charles Watson, Ladies and Gentlemen: During the past year the Palestine Exploration Fund has lost, by death, an unusually large number of distinguished agents and supporters, of whose services due mention will be made in the

course of our business this afternoon; but I am sure we all feel it right and fitting that, before we enter upon that business, we should separately and solemnly express our sorrow at the lamented death of our late Patron, His Majesty King Edward VII.

From the beginning of its career this Society has enjoyed the patronage and assistance of the Crown. Through the offices of Dean Stanley, Her Majesty Queen Victoria took a personal interest in the inauguration of our work, and liberally contributed to its support. As Prince of Wales His late Majesty visited the Holy Land, and to his visit we may attribute much of that readiness of the Turkish Imperial authorities to further our labours, without which they would never have achieved their very considerable results. In particular we may date from his memorable visit to the Mosque at Hebron, as Dean Stanley anticipated we might do, an increase in the tolerance exhibited by the religious officials of Islam and the Mohammedan people at large towards western explorers and travellers. Whether as Prince of Wales or as King, His late Majesty never lessened that personal interest in our enterprise which he thus so practically achieved. In 1882 he sent his sons on a prolonged tour through the Holy Land, the archaeological results of which were of no mean value. Col. Conder's report of that tour, and especially of the visit of the Princes to the Mosque of Hebron, where, with their own hands they assisted in certain new measurements, forms one of the most interesting documents which our Society has ever published. It is further enriched by notes from Sir Charles Wilson and Canon Dalton. The patronage of the Crown has, therefore, been to us not merely nominal or distant, but personal, direct and practical. Besides, as I have said, influencing in our favour the authorities and the people of Syria, it has proved of incalculable benefit in our appeals for support to the public of this country. We, therefore, have the strongest reasons for making, as we now do, our very grateful and respectful acknowledgment of it. I need say no more. An address of condolence and of loyalty has already been signed by our President and dispatched to His Majesty King George.

The above address was listened to in silence, the entire audience up-standing.

The CHAIRMAN.—I have now, Ladies and Gentlemen, the honour to move:—

“That the Report and Accounts for the year 1909, already printed and in the hands of subscribers, be received and adopted.”

Lt.-Col. C. F. FELLOWS seconded the Resolution and it was unanimously adopted.

The HON. SECRETARY.—The Chairman has already told the Meeting that we have suffered an unusual amount of loss in the course of the year amongst those interested in the Society. It is my duty to read the names of the principal Members whom we have lost since we last met here. First of all, His Majesty the King, who was Patron from 1891 to the time of his death. Then I may mention the great loss we have sustained in the death of our Acting Secretary, Mr. George Armstrong. He was 38 years in the service of the Fund, and, out of that time, 20 years its Acting Secretary. His duties were always performed not only with intelligence, but with enthusiasm from the first, and there is no doubt that it was the great enthusiasm of his life. Then within a month or a few weeks of Mr. George Armstrong’s death, we lost Col. Conder, whose name is definitely associated with the great survey of Palestine. His work, not only in connection with that survey, but with a great number of publications, all of interest and many requiring great learning and research, will continue to form a monument to his name. We then have the Rev. W. H. Rogers, who has often spoken at these Meetings. And then another great loss, the Rev. George Post, who was so well known through his botanical researches in Palestine. Then the Rev. Canon Hutchinson, one of our oldest Members, and Mr. Joseph Pollard, a Member of the Executive Committee for many years, and the Marquis of Ripon, who was for a great many years a staunch friend of the Society. In addition to those actually belonging to the Society, another most valuable supporter was the Director of the Imperial Museum at Constantinople, Osman Hamdy Bey. He was an enthusiastic archaeologist himself, and he learned to have very great confidence in this Society and in its ways of dealing not only with matters of antiquity, but honestly with the Imperial Government. Altogether the Society may be said to have to deplore an unusual amount of loss in the personality connected with its transactions.

Sir CHARLES WATSON.—Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen, Mr. Crace has read out a list of those gentlemen whose deaths we have had to deplore during the past year. Each year, of course, some Members drop off from our General Committee, but I am glad to be able to say that each year we get new recruits who are of the greatest possible assistance, and I will read you a list of those we propose to add on the present occasion to the Membership of the General Committee. First there is Col. Hope-Edwards of Shrewsbury, who has been for a long time a great supporter of the Fund and has given us most excellent subscriptions and helped us much in carrying out the excavations. Then I come to Prof. Stewart Macalister, of whom I need say very little as all here are acquainted with his work. He has ceased to be our executive officer in Palestine, but, of course, he will still help us with the work of the Fund. At present, Prof. Stewart Macalister is hard at work preparing the Memoirs on the magnificent excavations he conducted at Gezer. The first volume of these Memoirs is completed and is shortly about to go for printing, and the second volume is in course of preparation. The next name is Dr. Arthur Evans, whom I expect everyone here knows in connection with the excavations of Crete. He has kindly consented to join us, and I am sure he will be of great assistance to us in our future work. Then comes Prof. Edward Anwyl of Aberystwyth College, Professor of Comparative Philology and a well-known archaeologist, who also takes a great interest in what we do. Prebendary Ingram, Rector of St. Margaret's, Lothbury, has also agreed to become a member of the General Committee. And, lastly, there is Mr. Satow, the newly-appointed British Consul of Jerusalem, who, though he has been in Jerusalem for only a short time, has already been able to give us very material assistance in getting the new permit for our future exploration. I propose these names be added to the Committee.

Prof. BUCHANAN GRAY.—I have great pleasure in seconding the names proposed by Sir Charles Watson. I think the Society can congratulate itself that it is able to obtain the services of men on the various Committees who are distinguished in different ways, which is so necessary to the due carrying out of the objects of the Fund.

The Resolution was then adopted.

Dr. D'ERP WHEELER.—Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen, I have much pleasure in moving the following Resolution:—

“That the Executive Committee be re-elected.”

I am sure I need not say any word on the ability and the able way in which the Executive Committee have carried on their splendid work during all these years.

The Rev. HERBERT HUGHES seconded the Resolution and it was unanimously agreed to.

The CHAIRMAN.—I have now very great pleasure in calling upon Col. Sir Charles Watson to give us an address upon the completion of the excavations at Gezer, and to make some intimations with regard to the future work of the Society.

Sir CHARLES WATSON.—I ought not to take up many minutes of the time of this Meeting, as I know the Members are all anxious to hear you, sir; but there are just a few remarks I would like to make. Last year, as you will all remember, we announced the completion of the excavations at Gezer and the wonderful results we had got there. As I have already told you, the memoirs respecting those excavations are now in preparation, and, I hope, will soon be in the hands of the subscribers. As soon as the excavations at Gezer were over we asked Mr. Macalister, when he was in Palestine last year, to go through the country, and to investigate a number of sites which, from historical or other reasons, appeared likely to lead to good results. He started practically from Dan to Beersheba; he worked from north to south, and visited a number of sites which, undoubtedly, were interesting, and of those sites, after he had presented his report, the Committee came to the conclusion that the place now called ‘Ain-es-Shems was the one that offered the most probable results from the exploration point of view. I am sure all of you who are well acquainted with the Bible will remember the Beth-Shemesh of the Bible. ‘Ain-es-Shems is, with little doubt, the site of the old Beth-Shemesh. Beth-Shemesh was a city that stood on the borders of the Tribe of Judah; and during the times when the wars were going on, which are recorded in the Books of Joshua and Judges between the Israelites and the Philistines, Beth Shemesh, as being a commanding point on one of the principal roads that lead from the Philistine country into the hill country, naturally was the place where a good deal of this fighting took place.

Then, Beth-Shemesh was the place to which the Philistines, who had taken the ark of God in their fighting with Israel, and having found that it brought them no good luck, but only pestilence and disease, decided to send it back, and put it on a cart drawn by two oxen, and those oxen brought it as far as Beth-Shemesh; in fact, the place where we are going to excavate is very probably close to the site where the Ark stopped. It is rather a curious thing that that old road from the Philistine country up to Jerusalem ceased to be used for a long time—for hundreds and hundreds of years—but when they found it necessary to make a railway from Joppa to Jerusalem, they selected that old road, and now the line of rails passes close under this Beth-Shemesh. I think, when you study the question, you will agree that the Committee have not done unwisely in selecting this site. Well, as soon as the site was selected, the next thing was to apply for an *irade*, or permit, from the Sultan to allow us to excavate there. We wrote, through the Foreign Office to Constantinople at the beginning of the present year, and I am happy to tell you that we have already got the *irade*. There is a good deal of discussion going on about the movement in Turkey, but, at all events, I can say it has been an excellent thing for the Palestine Exploration Fund, because the Young Turks seem to push things on a good deal quicker than the old Turks used to do. Unfortunately we had lost, as Mr. Crace has said, Osman Hamdy Bey, the Director of the Museum at Constantinople, but I am thankful to say he has been succeeded by his brother, Khalil Bey, who seems to be a man of the same mind, and he has been of the greatest possible assistance to us in obtaining this permit. I must also express to this Meeting the thanks which we owe to Sir Edwin Pears, of Constantinople, who, with Mr. Bullard, of the British Embassy, were of the greatest assistance to us in obtaining the permit. Our Chairman suggests that I should also mention the name of the gentleman whom we have as our new explorer, viz., Dr. Duncan Mackenzie, who has been employed under Dr. Arthur Evans of Crete for a number of years, and who is thoroughly competent to conduct the work. He has a perfect knowledge of historical pottery, which, as you all know, is a very important consideration, and he has also studied a good deal the question of the Philistines, in whose country we are going to excavate. I dare say some here know the theory that the

Philistines were a people who came from Crete, and while in Crete Dr. Mackenzie has already been studying this question, and now that he is going to the Philistine country he will be in a very good position to carry on his investigations.

The CHAIRMAN.—Sir Charles Watson, Ladies and Gentlemen, I have been asked to say a few words chiefly upon the new work of the Society, the beginning of which has been announced to you so well by Sir Charles Watson. But before I go on to say anything on that head, I should like your permission to add a few words of tribute, of admiration and of regret in connection with some of the names which our Hon. Secretary has already read over to us, and which are contained in the death-roll of the Society's supporters and agents during the past year. Of course I must begin with Col. Conder. None of us who have done work, much or small, in connection with the geography or the exploration of Palestine, can fail to know that to Col. Conder, along with Sir Charles Warren and the late Sir Charles Wilson, we owe more than we do to any of the agents who have been employed by the Society, and who have contributed to its magnificent achievements. The names of Warren, and of Wilson, and of Conder, will go down to posterity as those of our greatest pioneers, and I hardly think it possible that any of their successors, even though the opportunities now are wider than were opened to them, can exceed the tale of their labours and of their magnificent results. Col. Conder was a remarkable gift to a Society like ours. He was not only a very capable and expert officer of Engineers, who did the great work of surveying the Holy Land with a thoroughness which we expect from that great and famous corps, but he had interests of a still wider kind which still more admirably fitted him for the work to which we called him. He was no mean linguist ; he mastered Arabic ; he applied himself to the nomenclature of Palestine with an assiduity excelled by none, I think, since Robinson himself ; he collected an extraordinary wealth of place-names, and for the rest of his life he continued to supply to scholars a number of arguments upon these and upon a comparison of them with the place names of Crusade times, and of the New Testament and Old Testament periods—a number of arguments which, whether you agree with them or not, always interest you, and very distinctly forward the identification of the place-names of the Holy Land. Besides that, Col. Conder had no mean literary style, and he did perhaps as much as any of us to interest the public of Great Britain

in the work of our Fund. From the time he retired from active participation upon the field itself, Col. Conder continued up to the time of his death to contribute to the discussions in our *Quarterly Statement*; which showed that to the very last he remained interested in and vigilant of every new discovery, and of the progress that the science of archaeology in Palestine has so happily been enabled to make within the last couple of decades. I do feel that a very special tribute of gratitude is due, not only from the members of our Society, but from all scholars whose subject may be the history or geography of Palestine, and from all historians, whether of the Semitic period or of the Crusading period of the history of that country.

I do not know how far we realize the value of the appearance at public meetings in our country of the leading agents of our Society, but, if you will pardon a bit of personal experience, I would like to tell you how much a single lecture, by a man who has taken part personally in the work of the Society, may effect in the minds of our young people and bring up supporters and perhaps students of our subject in later years. I was only a boy of ten when either Sir Charles Warren or Sir Charles Wilson—I forget which it was now; I do not suppose I was very keen about the name at that time—appeared in the great Hall of the Royal High School in Edinburgh and delivered a lecture upon the excavations which had then just begun in Jerusalem; and, Ladies and Gentlemen, it was from that day and that hour that my interest in Jerusalem began, and that I formed the wish to be able to study the subject, and as I grew older perhaps to contribute to it a little. Now Col. Conder's work was of that kind also. The many visits he paid to different parts of the country and the many lectures he gave were, I am sure, very valuable in furthering the interest of the general public in our work, and I would like to urge upon our Executive the value, in the light of such experience, of sending labourers like Prof. Stewart Macalister, and Mr. Duncan Mackenzie we hope in the future, to great centres and to small centres in the country, with a view of scattering information and exciting enthusiasm upon one of the most interesting and fascinating subjects which can be presented to the scholars, the school-boys and school girls, of our country at the present time. One cannot dissociate, as the Hon. Secretary has said, the name of George Armstrong from that of Col. Conder. Working in a humbler rank, he has after his measure distinctly

contributed to the labours of our Society as much as the greater names which we have mentioned. Personally, I want to express my gratitude to his memory, if for nothing else, for that marvellously useful, clear, and interesting raised map of Palestine of which he was the maker. I have thought over it and lectured over it in my classroom for seventeen years, and I could not think of doing without either it or the smaller map. I have often wondered that more advantage has not been taken by teachers and lecturers throughout the land, especially teachers of Bible Classes and theological lecturers, of the admirable advantages which this great map so easily affords to them. I trust its sale in the future will be very much larger than it has been in the past.

The only other name on which I wish to say a word, because our Hon. Secretary has already spoken so fittingly with regard to them all, is that of Prof. Post of Beyrouth. None of us who have travelled in the land have been able to do without his botanical Manual, one of the most charming books, whether to those who, like myself, are not botanists, or to those who are, it is possible to imagine. His interest in the work of our Society from first to last was great, and he cheerfully contributed to the *Quarterly Statement* of his rich stores of experience, of travel and research throughout the borders of Syria.<sup>1</sup>

Now, passing from these names, I come to the work which has been intimated to you by our Chairman, Sir Charles Watson. We have reached a very critical point in the history of our Society at which we are concluding one great piece of work, great I mean whether you measure it by the time it has occupied or by the immense quantity of the results which have issued from it, and great also in the new lines of investigation and of research which Mr. Macalister has opened up for us through it. And we are advancing to another piece of work as full of promise, I firmly believe, to-day as the work of Gezer was when we received the permission from Constantinople to commence that. We are parting

<sup>1</sup> Some mention should also be made of the great loss which the sciences of the history and geography of the Holy Land have suffered by the death of Prof. Schürer of Göttingen. His erudition in all subjects connected with Palestine was excelled by no living scholar. The impartiality and sanity of his judgment on disputed questions were conspicuous and constant. To all students of the subject the geographical and historical descriptions and arguments in his History of the Jewish people in the time of Christ, and its very full lists of references, are indispensable.

also, as Sir Charles Watson has told us, from a worker whom we can ill afford to do without. I need not say anything about his work, which has been alluded to already with such fitness by our Chairman, and the reports upon which have been laid before you from time to time in the *Quarterly Statement* during the last few years. But I would like to emphasize, with all the force of which I am capable, that this work cannot fulfil its final end until we receive the Memoir of it, which Prof. Stewart Macalister happily is now engaged in preparing. He himself has pointed out that temporary and occasional statements and reports, made from time to time, of the work as it is in progress can never be a substitute for the more careful and deliberate Memoir which always ought to be published as quickly as possible on the completion of such a work. Now, Ladies and Gentlemen, the expenses of preparing such a Memoir, especially in view of the enormous number of illustrations without which its value would be greatly diminished—the expenses of preparing so great a work are very severe, and unless our Executive Committee receive even greater support than they have done for this end, I am afraid that we shall not have done our duty either by Gezer itself or by the splendid self-denying labours which Prof. Macalister has, during these last years, devoted to it. I trust that the financial support which the Executive receives will enable them to issue the Memoir in a condition and with a fullness of illustration and in a form which will do justice to the work and to the author of the work itself. Before I pass from that I should like to repeat a testimony which I gave two years ago from personal experience with regard to the thoroughness of Prof. Macalister's work. He has been working ever since then and has gradually increased our debt and the debt of all scholars to him, and the evidence that has come up since I spoke upon this point two years ago only confirms what I said concerning the thoroughness, the quality, the high, deep quality, of Mr. Macalister's researches and excavations. I have been able to compare his work, and in fact the work of all our British agents, with the work of not a few investigators and excavators belonging to other countries, and I think it only due, in the prevailing temper of the British mind to deprecate its own work in contrast with the work of other nations, to say—and I give this not merely as my own testimony but as the testimony of others as well—that there is no work in Palestine done, I care not by whom, whether by Germans or by French, that

is to be compared for thoroughness and quality with what has been done by the agents of this Society, and especially by Prof. Macalister. Again and again our British agents have covered ground already touched upon, whether in Egypt or in Palestine, by the explorers of other nations, and they have shown by their researches that the charge of superficiality, sometimes brought against British scholarship and British work in various departments, certainly does not hold with regard to the work of excavation and exploration.

And now, if you will allow me, I should like to remind you of what we owe to Prof. Macalister in the opening up of new material and new lines of research. The day has long passed when our minds can entertain the idea that the labours of such a Society as this are exhausted within the limits of the topography, of surveying the country, or of the identification of Bible sites, or of the confirmation of Bible history. We are on the eve of a new day of study in the comparative history of Semitic religions. There is no field for the study of such a subject like Palestine itself, with its countless buried sanctuaries, and with all those physical and economic conditions which so largely moulded Semitic religion. That is a sphere of work, now that so much has been done for topography, which our Society is bound to enter. Mr. Macalister has proved by his work at Gezer a splendid pioneer into that sphere. He has opened up not only very ancient Semitic sanctuaries, discovered and illustrated many practices of the Canaanite religion which were obscure to us in the pages of the Old Testament, but he has also gone back, to his own surprise and to the gratification of all scholars, to the neolithic age, and discovered a sanctuary of neolithic man. In this respect his labours have been simply invaluable, and scholarship has to congratulate itself to-day upon the existence of a mass of material illuminating this hitherto very obscure subject, such as we never dreamt we should possess a very few years ago. I should like to repeat what I said two years ago, that with all these discoveries, Prof. Macalister has only made it more clear and firm, how definite, how forceful, how unique was the ethical power which the religion of Israel—whatever we may judge its forces to have been—brought into the land of Palestine those many centuries ago, and so began that force of blessing to all mankind which has issued from Israel through Christianity. As one went with Mr. Macalister round these ancient sanctuaries which he discovered in and about Gezer, and saw their symbols and their

signs, one understood as one had never done before the zeal with which the prophets and the law-givers of old enforced the pure religion of Israel, and overturned among God's people all practices derived from the Canaanites or other heathen neighbours. I believe that for the apologist for the religion of Israel, or for the apologist of Christianity, the discoveries of Mr. Macalister at Gezer, and the great line of research which he and Prof. Sellin have opened up, offer some of the most powerful arguments and material that they can possibly enjoy.

Now, coming definitely to the new field, I should like to say with regard to that, I only heard of it a few days ago, when I was absent from all my books, and therefore found it impossible to prepare any paper for you worthy either of the field or of the distinguished excavator who has been called to work upon it. But it is many, many years ago since I first became acquainted with the extremely interesting district in which 'Ain es-Shems lies, and I shall crave permission for a few moments to give you my personal impression of it. I think you will find in it evidence of the wisdom of the Committee in choosing this site. I have been, I think, three or four times at the head of the Vale of Sorek in which 'Ain es Shems lies, and upon one occasion I spent two whole days thoroughly exploring the immediate neighbourhood of the mound in the year 1891. It is one of the most attractive sites in all Palestine, from the point of view of scenery, and although this is only one point in its merits, I think it is a point that ought to be mentioned. I cannot conceive of a healthier site, Sir Charles Watson, for our labourers, our investigators and excavators to work in than 'Ain es-Shems, one of the sunniest, breeziest basins in the whole of Palestine. Our labourers also will be close to the main line of railway, and will derive every convenience that that is capable of affording. They will be in easy communication for supplies, both with Joppa and Jerusalem, and I understand, though it is many years since I was on the site, that there are quite sufficient sources of personal labour in the neighbourhood. The work may go on, for enough workmen will be found from the population of the neighbouring villages. In all these respects then, I think the site is ideal. I agree with what Sir Charles Watson has said about the extreme probability of 'Ain es-Shems being Beth Shemesh; but even if—and this is always possible—even if in the course of our excavations it should turn out that it was not Beth-Shemesh, there is no doubt it must have been

some other equally important site—equally important in the life and history of Israel and their neighbours the Philistines. The mound lies at the head of the Vale of Sorek, just under the eaves of the main Judaean range where the Vale of Sorek narrows to that defile which now carries the railway up to Jerusalem. That is to say, the site lies on what was the main high road between northern Philistia and Jerusalem. Not only so, but it is crossed by the great trench which so distinctly divides the area of the Low Hills, the debatable country between Philistia and Judaean, from the main Judaean range. The Wadi-en-Najil reaches the basin from the south, the Wadi-Ghurab, I think, comes in from the north-west or the north. Thus you have converging upon the basin formed at the head of the Vale of Sorek, by all these valleys—an exceedingly wide well-watered, fertile, and sunny basin—several of the main high roads of that part of the country. I have counted five main roads coming in upon Beth-Shemesh. From Beth-Jibrin, or Eleutheropolis, in the south, from the coast upon the west and the northernmost cities of the Philistine lakes, like Ekron and Ashdod, possibly also from Ashkalon, although perhaps a better road would be found up the Vale of Elah. Then you have also coming in by the Wadi Ghurab a road over a very low and easy pass from the Vale of Ajalon, and, finally, you have two, and perhaps three, roads coming down from the main Judaean range, and ultimately from Jerusalem itself. I cannot think of any similar site, certainly in the south of Palestine, upon which more roads have converged in ancient times and down to the present day, and that is why I say, whether we find this to be Beth-Shemesh or not—and I think we shall find it to be Beth-Shemesh—we are attacking a site commercially and historically of the greatest importance. Then it was up this vale, as Sir Charles Watson has told us, that a good deal of the history of Israel was transacted, and that many episodes in the Old Testament happened. We have, first of all, the mention of Beth-Shemesh on the boundary of the tribe of Judah, we have it mentioned in the Book of Joshua as a Levitical city, and then we have the picturesque and interesting story of the arrival of the Ark, and the discovery by the inhabitants of how it had brought the plague with it from the plague-stricken cities of Philistia; and moreover we have the campaign of Joash of Israel against Amaziah, and the latter's defeat in this one of the main approaches from Philistia to Jerusalem. But, besides all that,

we may be sure that a great deal of commercial intercourse and many struggles and contests between the Philistines and the Israelites took place upon this debatable land, so that we shall not be surprised if Mr. Mackenzie should add to the knowledge that Prof. Macalister has already recovered from Gezer—the beginnings of our knowledge of at least the burial habits of the Philistines. Then another thing, if this should turn out to be Beth-Shemesh, we have the site, from the very name of it, of an ancient Canaanite cult, and probably the site of a Babylonian cult as well. So that here again there are possibilities of further knowledge upon other lines already opened by Mr. Macalister in Gezer. I do not know whether in their visit to this site Mr. Macalister and Mr. Mackenzie have discovered any pottery so late as the Hellenistic period; but I should think it extremely probable, if not at Beth-Shemesh, certainly in the neighbourhood we might come across some traces of big campaigns or other remnants of Greek and Hellenistic civilization in Assyria. However that may be, you see that there are enough possibilities in this great site, real practical possibilities, Ladies and Gentlemen, to have justified our Committee's choice of it for the next excavations of the Palestine Exploration Fund. I have always been one of those who desired that our Executive would take us across to the east of Jordan, and begin operations upon one of the great mounds of Moab or of Gilead, preferably of Moab, and for this very urgent reason, that within the last ten years, I should say, a number of the ancient mound sites on the Plateau of Moab are being reoccupied chiefly by Christians, semi-nomads, from Kerak, and the chances of such excavations as we could now have very freely upon these unoccupied sites will rapidly disappear for ever. I still entertain the hope, and make the prayer that the next site we excavate will be a site upon the east of the Jordan and in Moab. Dhiban lies there all ready for the spade of the excavator. When we remember what was once found there, we might look forward with very just expectancy of great results from excavations there. Beth-Shan is another mound that I have long wished to see excavated, and it could have been excavated with very great ease and great results many years ago; but alas, it is occupied. The moral of all this, Ladies and Gentlemen—and I hope my words upon the point will reach a still larger public—the moral of all this is that whether you look at the results in past times of the Palestine Exploration Fund, or the opportunities that lie

before it for the future, or the rapidity with which these opportunities are disappearing—in view of all these things, I say you cannot entrust the Palestine Exploration Fund with too large an amount of money for their great and their indispensable work. In conclusion, I should like to congratulate the Executive Committee upon the appointment of Dr. Duncan Mackenzie. I do not think in the whole range of our younger excavators they could have got a better man to carry on this work. He comes from Crete, where his experience under Mr. Evans has been long and thorough, and where he himself we know has displayed very great original ability. He has, I understand, a first-rate knowledge both of Turkish and Greek; he is able to deal justly and gently with a corps of labourers; he has experience of working with Orientals, and I think we may anticipate smoothness both in his relations with them and with the Turkish authorities just because he has had so much experience of the same kind, and may anticipate also that the results of the work at 'Ain-es-Sheims will be as valuable, and certainly the work will be as thorough as that which has just concluded at Gezer.

Mr. WALTER MORRISON.—I have great pleasure in moving this Resolution :

That the thanks of this Meeting be given to the Managers of the Royal Institution of Great Britain for granting the use of their Lecture Theatre for this Meeting.

The Executive Committee are very grateful to the Royal Institution for showing such charity to us. And looking at it from a Treasurer's point of view, it saves us a little money, for otherwise we should have to hire a hall. At the same time, I think there is a certain congruity in the Royal Institution offering hospitality to the Palestine Exploration Fund, because this is a building which is famous in the history of British science, and has always been a building for the encouragement of British science. We claim that we are emphatically a scientific body. We set the example to other people of systematic and scientific exploration, not merely of digging, as so many people have done, and finding antiquities and then taking them away, but digging in such a way that we can find the historical solution which is shown by the exact position and quality and character of the discovery we make. So I hope

you will pass a vote of thanks to the Managers of the Royal Institution for being so good as to welcome us here as they have so often done in the past.

Dr. C. D. GINSBURG seconded the Resolution and it was carried by acclamation.

Sir CHARLES WATSON.—If you will allow me, I will put one more Resolution, and that is to ask this Meeting to return their best thanks to the Very Reverend the Principal of Aberdeen University for having been so good as to come here and take the Chair to-day, and for his admirable address which I am sure you will all carry home with you. If Dr. Smith will allow me, I would say one word with reference to the exploration east of Jordan. The Committee thought of it very seriously, and I can assure him many Members of the Committee would be only too glad to carry on exploration there, but at the present time affairs are in a very disturbed condition east of the Jordan, and we thought it would be wiser to stay west of the Jordan for the present. Perhaps when the next permit is asked for it may be on the east side of Jordan. May I express to our Chairman our deep gratitude to him for having kindly come here to-day ?

The CHAIRMAN.—Sir Charles Watson, Ladies and Gentlemen, I count it a very high honour to be invited to preside at this Annual Meeting of the Fund. But apart from the honour I feel, it would take me all my lifetime to express to the Society the deep debt of gratitude I owe it and its labourers in the past in connection with my own subject as a scholar of the Old Testament. With regard to Sir Charles Watson's explanation, we are all very glad to have it, but I should like to assure him and the Executive that these explanations are quite unnecessary, for the Executive Committee has the entire trust of the whole body of subscribers to the Fund on whatever site they may decide upon.

The proceedings then terminated.

## UNKNOWN PALESTINE.

By SALVATORE MINOCCHI.

(Translated by Mary Gurney.)<sup>1</sup>

ON the 8th of April, 1907, I set out from Jerusalem to visit the interior of Palestine. I arrived in the evening at Jericho, where I fell in with the learned Dr. Sellin, who had commenced a series of excavations there. He had found remains of an ancient wall (constructed of large red bricks) supposed to be the wall described in the Book of Joshua as falling down miraculously at the sound of sacerdotal trumpets. He had traced the forepart of the ancient fortress—in fairly good preservation—and had found dark marks of burning, and fragments of vessels and bones amongst the loose earth.

The first general exploration, in the modern sense, of the soil of Palestine dates from the expedition undertaken about 1864, by the Duke of Luynes, towards the shores of the Red Sea. The German and English explorations which followed, were confined chiefly to the neighbourhood of Jerusalem, and did not yield important results. More systematic exploration is recent; only in the year 1890 an accurate examination began of the isolated hills in the desert region (called by the Arabs "Tells"), often resembling military fortifications. The English Palestine Exploration Fund then prospected a series of works at Tell el-Hesy, the celebrated Biblical city of Lachish, which sustained the long siege of Sennacherib, at the time of King Hezekiah. Since 1898 other "Tells" have been explored, but the most important excavations were carried on by Mr., now Prof., R. A. S. Macalister (1902-1908) at Tell Gezer, the city received in gift from Egypt by Solomon when he married the daughter of a Pharaoh.

German archaeologists, at the same time, explored Megiddo, celebrated both in Biblical and Egyptian history, and situated near the chain of Carmel.

<sup>1</sup> From *Nuova Antologia*. (Rome, Feb. 1, 1909.)

The geology and pre-historic archaeology of Palestine are important. At the close of the tertiary, and at the beginning of the quaternary period (at which period the existence of man can be verified), Palestine was a land of calcareous soil, rocky along the central crest of the trans-Jordanic mountains, and volcanic near the Red Sea; and at the sources of the Jordan a terrible cataclysm had cleft the soil, and had opened in the present Valley of the Jordan an abyss deeper than the sea level.

A following period of tempestuous deluges--the glacial era of Europe - modified the surface of the soil and filled the Jordan abyss, affecting the levels as far as the present sources of the Jordan, and beyond the end of the Red Sea. Then followed a period of drought: the Mediterranean, affected by volcanic earthquakes, retreated within its present limit, and the waters in the midst of the land evaporated, leaving, as the deepest part of the bed of the Jordan, the basin of the Dead Sea—which is more than 700 metres below sea level. A gigantic residuum of volcanic nature still lies on the shore of the lake, intolerably bitter to the taste and sulphuric in smell. Then another lesser period of rains re-established the alluvium to a certain point, and by degrees the modern Valley of the Jordan was formed, with its three lakes—Merom, Tiberias, and the Dead Sea.

The troglodyte period left a valuable memorial in the flint implements wrought for practical use, and now finally, after the lapse of many centuries, recognised as the work and record—the unconscious document—of pre-historic man. The stone age is divided into two parts: the most ancient, the paleolithic, during which men worked with dark-coloured flints, through the simple device of chipping by blows; the other, the neolithic, nearer historic times, showing the flint more delicately worked, and sharpened by means adapting it to more varied uses. The existence of a stone age in Palestine is attested in the Bible as late as the historic times of the relations between the Hebrews, the Phoenicians, and the Philistines; the earliest Israelites having used flint knives for delicate surgical operations, such as circumcision. The archaeologists were no sooner on the traces of Palestine flints than they found, either in caverns or on the banks of small rivers, numerous remains of axes, wedges, knives, awls, sickles, triangular pieces of rock, which, if not always, are certainly frequently of human make; objects for cutting, formed by the hand, some almost new and keenly sharpened, others blunted by age and long use.

It is remarkable that the most ancient flint instruments have been found on the highest ground of Palestine, within reach of Jerusalem, and on the Moabite table land beyond the Jordan. Is it not probable that the early dwellers remained until the great upheavings of the quaternion age, at which period the low-lying, marshy country by the shores of the Mediterranean, and also the vicinity of the Dead Sea, became unsuited for habitation? Their date was apparently between the fifth and fourth centuries B.C.

After this period human existence was more widely diffused, and the vast caverns on mountain sides became populated with human beings, traces of whom have been found, extending until the historic period of the third millennium. Then, apparently, there was an invasion of people from the East, with social life strongly organized. They established themselves upon the high grounds, partly near Jordan, but especially on the table-lands of Moab and Gaulan, where they left proofs of their existence in grouped or isolated monuments and documents. The groups are called "dolmens," and consist of three or more large stones, elevated from the ground like an architrave, and surrounded by a circle of smaller stones. In the Moabite land there are also piles of stones in circles, called "menhirs." It is thought probable that the "dolmens" were tombs, on account of the resemblance of the architectural features to the earliest form of tomb. It must also be conceded that a religious significance was involved to the Bedouin, these tenacious representatives of early tradition retaining to this day a veneration for the "dolmen." I saw two as I was travelling along the table-land of Gaulan: in one case the stone had the appearance of a large human face; on the other stone were carved numerous small cups, similar to those intended for sacrificial libations on the most ancient sanctuaries and tombs.

The third millennium is also characterized by the migration of an assemblage of peoples, apparently from the Western estuaries of the Tigris and the Euphrates, who settled first in Babylonia and Assyria, then in Syria and Asia Minor, and passed onwards to Western Arabia, Palestine, and the Egyptian Delta. This immigration has been usually called the "Semitic." From the local point of view of Palestine, we prefer to use the term "Canaanite," as designating the general name of the people inhabiting Palestine before the Israelites.

The Canaanite invasion probably took place towards 2500 B.C., still in the neolithic period. Palestine was already a rich country, abounding in grapes, figs, and olives. The inhabitants, grouped here and there amongst the mountains, lived in natural or artificial caves; they had flint arms and utensils of every kind, not only elegantly shaped, but (according to Macalister) of such strength and sharpness as to enable them to excavate in the hard rock at Gezer a vast cistern, for the storing of potable water, 14 feet wide and 21 feet high, and descending to a depth of 100 feet. They used numerous vessels of clay, shaped by the hand without a wheel and roughly decorated; sufficient for their humble needs. They buried their dead in caverns, carefully burning the bodies; and in the rock of other caverns they made perforations and cups for libations of the oil, milk, and must, which they offered with simple rites to their exalted Divinity. But their pacific and laborious existence was suddenly discomfited by the impetus of violent invaders, possessing arms and bronze utensils (a bronze serpent has been discovered in the Sanctuary of Gezer); the indigenous inhabitants were conquered, and were slain or forced into slavery. The invaders settled on the former inhabited caves and built cities of houses, constructed above ground, as had been customary for centuries in Chaldea and on the shores of the Nile. The old subterranean caves of the troglodytes were used only for religious purposes, or to receive the bodies of the dead, which were not subjected to fire except in the case of a ritual sacrifice to the Divinity. A vast cavern at Gezer has been found, first filled with a stratum of burned funereal remains, bones, and appropriate vases, of the neolithic period, and then covered by another stratum of remains not burned, with vases and other objects of a different character, the latter Canaanite.

The importance of the clay vases of Palestine archaeology is great, but may easily be exaggerated. The comparison and examination of thousands and thousands of vases, and of bits of clay, baked by the sun or by fire, and found in explorations of the "Tell," has been used by archaeologists as data for historic classification. These fragments of ancient ceramics have at times the characteristics of remote antiquity. Some vases are fabricated of a common red paste, heavy and porous, formed by the hand, others are fabricated with flint implements, usually not painted, but sometimes furrowed with light tracery worked by a flint point, with delicate and varied

designs. In an epoch evidently centuries later, the ceramics worked by hand present less delicacy and elegance of form as compared with the older vases, but are decorated with traceries of varied colours interposed with fantastic and ill-drawn figures of animals.

We may further observe that the art of ceramics was transformed between the sixteenth and twelfth centuries B.C. by a great discovery; the vessels are no longer shaped by the hand, but by the wheel, thus acquiring a lightness, rotundity, and elegance unknown to the earlier ceramics, and resembling in character the vases of Asia Minor and the Archipelago, of the middle of the second millennium. The period may be called the "Aegean-Canaanite," and shows greater variety of form: the polichrome ornaments are more beautiful and accurate, and the designs of animals lighter and finer.

The Hebraic and Hellenistic periods follow, at about the ninth century. Characteristics of Cypriote importation, through the Phoenicians, are then apparent, contemporaneous with natural Canaanite development, but aesthetic decadence is evident in form and expression.

Acquaintance with these various periods of the ceramic art of Palestine is important in the historic examination of the "Tell," under which the remains of the ancient cities lie buried. We need to consider what the "Tell" is, and how a burned and ruined city has formed a low hill of earth, apparently not differing from the hills around. We are aided by a consideration of the construction and uses of the dwellings of the inhabitants of Palestine even at the present day.

As a rule, the huts are large dark shelters of straw and mud, with a few stones for foundation, or a few blocks of wood. They serve for sleeping in at night during the winter, for a temporary retreat from rain, or for ovens for the baking of bread; the Oriental passing most of his life in the open air. A group of huts, ten or twelve feet in height, forms a village; or a larger number in former times formed a city; it is, in fact, thought that amongst a group of chalk or lime huts, there might have existed a stone palace, and by its side, a military fortress. The buildings were surrounded by a wall of brick, or sometimes of stone: with protection of dams and entrenchments, the village might take the pompous title of a fortified city and royal residence. An armed invasion

might have occurred. The enemy's troops, badly armed, though numerous (as could happen fifteen or twenty centuries B.C.) laid siege to the city. If there were a few hundred soldiers within, resolved to hold out till the end, the resistance would be long. The victory and conquest on the part of the enemy would display a horrible scene of sacrifice and destruction. Fire, strategies and death would hold empire at last, infants might be thrown against the walls; the fortress, the palace, the sanctuary, were systematically razed to the ground. With the rest, the mud huts easily fell to ruin. The long, denuding, winter rains completed the destruction, and amalgamated with the soil all left in the houses at the time of the catastrophe. A few years after, the ruined city was only a mound of grassy earth. When the fury of the invasion had subsided, religious tradition led to the re-building of another city and another fortress. But no attempt was made to excavate the foundations. On the mound already formed above the earlier city, left intact in its ruin, partly through religious sentiment and partly through the indolence of the people, new mud huts arose and also new palaces and new walls and gates. By means of such sequence, destruction and re-building continued for centuries. Modern archaeologists, taking count of ancient earthenware fragments with diverse characteristics, and examining the varied position of the earth and of the ruins, have distinguished and dated the six or seven strata of Gezer, which was six or seven times destroyed and re-built. In general, however, the military and royal edifices of the Canaanite cities do not make any special impression. The recent excavations at Taanach and Megiddo recall the character of country villas. The imitation is evident of Assyrio-Babylonian Art, with poverty of execution.

On account of the supreme importance attached to religious observances amongst these people, modern research has naturally been directed especially to the examination of the ruins of sanctuaries. The energy of the prophets of Israel in combating the superstitious observances called the religion of the High Places, is well known; with their constant efforts to stamp out these rites and observances amongst the Hebrews they laid stress on worship in the temple at Jerusalem only. Yet from Biblical days until now, no exact certainty exists as to the nature of the sanctuaries of the High Places, built on the summits of the same mountains as the Canaanite cities. Recent excavations scarcely enlighten the point.

In considering the caverns of the neolithic period, we find the super-soil hollowed out with small holes, like cups, intended for sacred libations, in homage to terrestrial or subterranean beings. These primitive troglodyte sanctuaries have been discovered in nearly all parts of the "Tells," and it is especially noteworthy that the later Canaanite sanctuaries were built on the level of the sacred caverns, at Taanach, and also at Gezer, which yet retains its own neolithic sanctuary, like that at Megiddo. The same caverns appeared to serve, according to the archaeologists, before and after the installation of the Canaanite sanctuaries, for the abode of Ochthonic idols, and for the oracular utterances of the priests. The two great caverns under the Canaanite sanctuary of Gezer communicate together by a passage so low and narrow that it is difficult to pass from the one to the other. The inner cavern probably served for the uttering of the oracle, and was the treasury of the temple. The passage of communication being so narrow, and serving only to transmit the voice of the oracle, the people readily believed that the words were pronounced by the Divinity in person, and not by some feeble sycophant.

After the neolithic period, the Canaanite sanctuaries consisted of an enclosure of stone, not very large, with a wall six or seven feet in height, and some internal divisions like small chambers, the whole open to the air. In the interior, towards the centre of the chief side, a deep niche served either for the idol or for the priest who pronounced the oracles. But in addition, the internal area is occupied (apparently as its principal object) with pillars of stone, about six or seven feet in height, and of proportionate width, variously squared, worked, and grooved at the summit. These are doubtless the famous baetyls (the homes of the Gods), the Masseboth and the Ashtaroth of the Bible; erections raised in especial honour of Astarte Aphrodite, the Masseboth being her symbol. The sanctuary of Gezer is adorned by eight pillars of various heights from six to ten feet. One is much smaller than the rest and is planted in a lower circle of earth. It differs considerably from the remaining seven, but a fallen pillar near by resembles it, and Macalister has concluded that these two similar pillars represent the remnants of an older Canaanite sanctuary, destroyed in war and re-erected on its own ruins; the fallen baetyl being left unobserved among the débris. At the foot of two of the seven large pillars adorning the newer sanctuary, there is a great

slab of stone, probably intended to receive sacred libations. The old standing baetyl pillar, resting on the earlier foundations, appears like a dwarf amongst the rest. It is curious to observe that its summit is covered with a viscid polish, of such a nature that it must have been produced not only by thousands and thousands of libations of blood, milk, oil, and animal fat, but also by eternally repeated thousands and thousands of kisses and embraces from the devout in their continual pilgrimages. Those who have observed the foot of the bronze statue of the Prince of the Apostles in the Church of St. Peter in Rome are aware of the continuance of this kind of religion.

The significance of these "baetys" is still an obscure question. Following the traces of some Assyrian monuments, they may be derived from primitive trunks and boughless trees, the models of the mysterious groves of Astarte. But it is certain that the course of centuries gave them a double meaning, as fallacious symbols and as embodiments of various deities. The people believed that the gods inhabited the baetys and were manifested in some strange manner. Large and small idols were included both in the public and private form of this ancient religious worship; also magic amulets, and ritual practices of every kind, such as may yet be found amongst the ignorant. The worship, especially of Astarte-Aphrodite appears, as evidenced by many idols, to have been implanted and diffused amongst the Canaanites and the Hebrews, in most crude expressions of a strong and savage nature.

We may draw attention to the celebrated find by Sellin, in his excavations at Taanach, of an altar which is considered by archaeologists as the most important of Palestine discoveries. Thirty-six fragments of burned clay were found scattered on the earth at one point. When re-united and combined, by joining the edges of the fractures, a small square monument was reconstructed about three feet in height, and each of the four sides measuring about two feet; empty in the interior, and with small square apertures along the sides, as if for escape of smoke if a fire were lighted. All around it there are strange reliefs; on the front, at each angle, are two heads of ferocious lions, alternated with three human heads, beardless, and pacific in expression. On the right and left sides of the monument are winged bulls, analogous to the lions' heads, one side has the figure of a child being strangled by a serpent, and at the lower part of the front is an ideal tree, recalling the

Babylonish tree of life, between two wild goats ready to bite the extremities of the boughs. The summit at the angles ends in volutes resembling the horns of an altar.

We have, doubtless, before us an altar intended for offering to the Divinity sacrifices of perfumes, to be thrown into the fire which burned within. The symbolic animals on guard inspired reverence or fear, as visible representations of the invisible Divinities for whom the sacred perfumes burned. The altar, of remarkable, though rough, execution, was exhumed amongst ruins of a distinctly Israelite character, and, no doubt, stood originally where it was found; and was not broken up by malice but by general decay. We may recognize in it the homage of a rich Israelite to Yahweh, perhaps about 670 B.C., half a century after the fall of Samaria, and in the winged bulls with human faces the true cherubim so often named in the Bible, the altar being similar to the famous altar of incense described in Exodus. Other altars for perfumes have been found at Gezer, like tall braziers, but intended for Egyptian rites, and of far less historical import than the altar at Taanach.

The most solemn sacrificial rites of the Canaanites, and, it may be said, also of the idolatrous Hebrews, consisted, as noted in the scornful pages of the *Hebrew Prophets*, of human sacrifices (and especially of infants) to the Divinity. Careful examination of the excavated cities confirms only too forcibly all that we know from the Bible of the cruel and most horrible superstition to which the Israelites also conformed until about the time of their exile to Babylon. A complete cemetery has been found at Taanach of small infants; but the presence of remains of some adults has caused difficulty in defining the nature of this strange Acropolis. The discovery, however, by Macalister of the caverns under the Canaanite sanctuary of Gezer, filled only with the bones of infants during the first few weeks of life, show that these miserable skeletons were the remains, at the distance of three or four thousand years, of first-born children burned or buried alive in the sanctuary, as a homage to the cruel and impious divinity against whom the Prophets declaimed.

But human sacrifices were not limited to the rites of the sanctuary. The foundation of an edifice for public use implied human sacrifice. The explorer Schumacher found an intact skeleton, forcibly bent, of a girl about fifteen years between the stones of the great fortress of Megiddo, evidently a beautiful girl, buried alive between the

blocks of stone, to serve afterwards as a tutelary genius to the fortress. I beheld this sad spot illumined by the sinking sun. O religion, what crimes are committed in thy name!

Recent excavations furnish many instances of the observance of strange funeral rites in Palestine. Sepulture was accompanied by the most varied practices: sometimes the body was reduced to ashes, sometimes torn in pieces and the flesh rent from the bones, as if to hasten the liberation of the spirit by its destruction; sometimes it was laid flat, or with bent knees, as if to indicate that man returned to the great womb of nature, and sometimes was closely packed within small "amphorae." The rite was conspicuous of the burying of the dead in a cavern of live rock, the bodies being covered over with sand and dust; from which it would appear that the Biblical affirmation, "dust thou art and unto dust thou shalt return," was also a religious dogma amongst the Canaanites. Archaeologists generally find, by the side of the dead, an abundance of small vases and plates, with remains of food, as meat or fish, and, frequently, the hand of the defunct held a knife. This was the viaticum which it was thought that the dead would need in order to continue the life of the soul after the death of the body. The thought is confirmed by the discovery by Macalister in 1907, in a Byzantine tomb at Gezer, of a kind of pyx, destined to contain the Christian Sacraments.

Such accessories to the tomb, more even than sacrifices offered to the dead, are like Divinity in ancestral worship, arguments of the belief, though undefined and imperfect, of the Canaanites in the immortality of the soul. Up to this time no religious written document has been discovered to reveal to us the thoughts of this vigorous population. Nothing can be assumed from the few and obscure words, in Phoenician characters, written on bits of pottery, and after the period of Solomon. Without the Bible, what would the Israelite altar of Taanach have told us concerning the religion of Israel?

In general we may consider that the Canaanites, with the other inhabitants of Palestine, display the characteristics of a robust and brave people, capable of leaving an indelible trace on history. We may recognize, as their fundamental defect, which prevented their ascent to more lofty destinies, their constant social dispersions (the fruit of wretched and ever recurring jealousies), by means of which, although the individual gained liberty, the land became the prey

of a succession of Oriental conquerors. The predominance of the Canaanites in Palestine lasted about 2,000 years, the country depending in great part on Egypt, and still more on Chaldea. The celebrated earthen tablets, inscribed in the Babylonian tongue, discovered by Sellin in the regal treasury of Taanach (a subterranean cavern which had been supposed to be a canteen), now show decisively that, at the time of Moses, Babylonian was the language for epistolary communications between the Canaanite nobles; the Phoenician writing of our Semitic alphabet not yet existing. Yet Canaanite culture and civilization display much original vigour, and the Hebrew people, pouring down from the heights of Sinai and Moabite Table-lands, eager for conquest, were barbarians as compared with their enemies and rivals. After the first victory of the Mosaic period in the Valley of the Jordan, the work of conquest dragged slowly on until the time of David, Solomon, and others. The civil history of the Jews is, in fact, the absorption to their own advantage of the previous Canaanite civilization, with its failings and terrible superstitions; but the Hebrews failed to assimilate the artistic and industrial genius of the conquered people, though they possessed in excess their intuitive will and religious instinct. From this their world of interior light arose the men destined to influence history—whose inspired words built up religion on the ruins of every superstition—the Prophets.

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### THE TRADITIONAL SITES ON SION.

By COLONEL SIR C. M. WATSON, K.C.M.G., C.B., M.A.

THE traveller to Jerusalem, after he has visited the Holy Sepulchre and the Dome of the Rock, naturally wishes to see the traditional sites on Sion. Leaving the Jaffa Gate and the Tower of David (see Plan I), he walks due south by the street which passes the Turkish barracks and leads to the Armenian quarter. On the right are the gardens of the Armenian Patriarch, while, on the left, about three hundred yards from the Tower of David, stands the Convent of St. James the Great (Site 2), which contains a twelfth-

century church, built on the spot where it is said the Apostle was killed by order of King Herod Agrippa. A small chapel on the north side of the church is shown as the exact spot of the martyrdom. To the south-east of the Church of St. James is the Convent of the Olive Tree (Site 3), which is said to be on the site of the House of Annas, the father-in-law of Caiaphas, to which Christ was first brought after being taken prisoner in the Garden of Gethsemane.

Leaving this convent and continuing south, the traveller soon reaches the south wall of Jerusalem, and, passing through the Sion Gate, comes to the House of Caiaphas (Site 4), an Armenian building in which is a chapel called the Prison of the Lord. The stone of the altar in this chapel is said to be part of the great stone which was rolled to the door of the Holy Sepulchre. A little farther to the south is a mass of buildings (Site 5), known to Christians as the Coenaculum, or site of the Last Supper, and, to Mohamedans as Neby Daud, or place of the Prophet David.

This building is in possession of Mohamedans, and the only place shown to Christians is a chapel on the first floor, approached by a flight of steps, which is the traditional site of the Last Supper. Below is another apartment (not accessible to Christians), said to be the place of washing of the Apostles' feet. A number of other sacred sites are supposed to be in or near the Coenaculum. These include the place where Jesus appeared to the Apostles after the Resurrection, the place where the Apostles assembled after the Ascension, the place where the Holy Ghost descended on the disciples on the Day of Pentecost, the house in which the Virgin Mary lived and died, and the sepulchres of King David and King Solomon.

Lastly, down the eastern slope of Mount Sion, and about a quarter of a mile from the Coenaculum, is the cave (Site 7) to which it is said St. Peter fled and hid himself after his denial of the Lord at the Palace of Caiaphas.

After seeing these places and hearing the traditions connected with them, the intelligent visitor is, perhaps, curious to know the history of them; to learn on what ground and to what extent can they be regarded as really being authentic sites. This is a question which deserves careful consideration, and, having studied the matter for some time, it has occurred to me that a few remarks upon the subject might be helpful to those who take an interest in such investigations.

Fortunately, there are a considerable number of documents, dating from early times, which describe what pilgrims to Jerusalem actually saw, and translations of the most important of these have been printed in the publications of the Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society. But a study of the accounts of these pilgrims is not without difficulty, and it is necessary to go carefully through them again and again, comparing one with another and weighing the evidence of each, before it is possible to arrive at satisfactory conclusions.

One great cause of difficulty is due to what is known as "the transference of sites," which means that the same site, as described by different pilgrims, is by no means always in the same place; and, on the other hand, the same place is not unfrequently called by different names. One of the most noteworthy instances of the transference of sites is that of Mount Sion itself. Jerusalem stood on two hills, an eastern and a western, divided by a deep valley, now almost obliterated by accumulations of *dibris*. At the present time, and certainly, since the year A.D. 300, the Western Hill is called Mount Sion, but the Temple and the City of David were on the Eastern Hill, and it is most difficult to understand the allusions to Sion in the Old Testament and the Apocrypha, unless it is accepted that, in ancient times, it was the Eastern Hill that was called by that name. This is not the place to discuss the often repeated arguments upon the subject, or to consider when the name was first applied to the Western Hill, and I only mention it as one of the many instances of the transference of sites in Jerusalem.

Another instance of transfer is that of the place of the Last Supper. Of this site I can find no mention before the beginning of the sixth century, but about A.D. 530, when Theodosius visited Jerusalem,<sup>1</sup> the place of the Last Supper, and the place of Washing the Apostles' feet, were shown to him at the foot of the Mount of Olives, and he does not say a word as to these being on Sion. Antoninus (A.D. 570) tells the same story, and it is not until A.D. 670 that Arculfus mentions Sion as the place of the Last Supper; this was after the destructive invasions of Chosroes and of Omar. There was a reason for the transfer, of which I shall speak hereafter, but it was not definitely established for a considerable time, as in A.D. 870, Bernard the Wise<sup>2</sup> locates the place of

<sup>1</sup> See *Palestine Pilgrims' Texts*, Vol. II. "Theodosius," p. 11.

<sup>2</sup> See *Palestine Pilgrims' Texts*, Vol. III. "Bernard the Wise," p. 8.

Washing the Apostles' feet on Sion, while he speaks of the Last Supper as having taken place near the Garden of Gethsemane. By the time of the Crusades the transfer was complete, and, thence up to the present time, the places, both of the Last Supper and also of Washing the Apostles' feet, have always been located on the Western Hill.

As an instance of the same place being called by different names, the House of Caiaphas may be mentioned. When the Bordeaux Pilgrim visited Jerusalem in A.D. 333, it was shown to him as the House of Caiaphas; Theodosius (A.D. 530) calls it the House of Caiaphas and Church of St. Peter. During the Christian occupation of Jerusalem, it is referred to by different pilgrims as the Praetorium of Pilate, the Judgment Hall of Pilate, the Judgment Hall of Caiaphas, St. Saviour's Chapel, and the Chapel of the Lord Jesus; while pilgrims in the thirteenth century and later describe it as the House of Caiaphas and Church of St. Saviour. As I have already mentioned, it is now known as the House of Caiaphas and Prison of the Lord. It is easy, therefore, to see that it is not altogether a simple matter to follow the sites from one account to another, but there is one rule which is very helpful. If a pilgrim, in describing his walk round Jerusalem, says that he saw three sites, A, B, C, in the order A—B—C, and another later pilgrim places them in the order C—B—A, it is reasonable to assume that B lies somewhere between A and C. It is also not unreasonable to believe that a pilgrim actually saw what he says he saw, though, of course, it is not possible to put faith in all that he says he heard, as the traditions given varied considerably.

In his work on *Golgotha and the Holy Sepulchre*, Sir Charles Wilson discussed the difficulty of arriving at a satisfactory history of the Christian Church in Jerusalem during the first three centuries.<sup>1</sup> Just before the siege by Titus in A.D. 70, the Christians in Jerusalem migrated to Pella, east of the Jordan, and the date of their return to the capital is uncertain. Some writers consider that the return took place shortly after the destruction of the city by Titus, while others place it about A.D. 122, in the time of the Emperor Hadrian, and before the Jewish revolt under Bar Kokba. After the suppression of this revolt, Jerusalem was entirely rebuilt and made a Roman colony, so that the chance of any private

<sup>1</sup> See *Golgotha and the Holy Sepulchre*, Chapter VII.

dwelling having survived from the time of the crucifixion is very small.

The author usually quoted as giving the early history of sites on Sion is Epiphanius, Bishop of Salamina, who wrote as follows towards the end of the fourth century<sup>1</sup> :—

" He (Hadrian) arrived at the most famous and noble city of " Jerusalem, which was laid waste by Titus, the son of Vespasian, " in the second year of his reign. He found the whole city razed " to the ground, and the Temple of the Lord trodden under foot, " there being only a few houses standing, and the Church of God, " a small building on the place where the Disciples on their return " from the Mount of Olives, after the Saviour's Ascension, assembled " in the upper chamber. This was built in the part of Sion which " had escaped destruction, together with some buildings round " about Sion, and seven synagogues that stood alone in Sion like " cottages, one of which remained standing down to the time of " Bishop Maxentius and the Emperor Constantine, 'like a lodge " in a garden of cucumbers,' in the words of Scripture."

This statement is interesting, but can hardly be regarded as historical, as Epiphanius wrote three hundred and fifty years after the Crucifixion and does not quote from any author who had actually seen the Church of Sion before the time of the Emperor Constantine. His statement is, therefore, hearsay only. And, even assuming that his information was correct, it does not prove that the place now shown to pilgrims as the site of the original Church of Sion is in the same place as the Church mentioned by Epiphanius.

In order to enable the question to be more easily understood, I have prepared a table showing the sites on Sion mentioned by the most important pilgrims who visited Jerusalem and wrote their experiences, from the time of Constantine up to the capture of Jerusalem by the Turks in A.D. 1517. It is not necessary to go further than this, as the sites shown to the last of the pilgrims, given in the Table, are practically the same as those shown at the present day.

On the plan of Jerusalem (Plan No. 1) are numbers which correspond with the numbers of the sites mentioned in the Table, so that these can be followed by the reader without difficulty. I have added to the Table the dates of certain events in the history of

<sup>1</sup> See *Golgotha and the Holy Sepulchre*, p. 173.

BY EACH WRITER ARE MARKED X.

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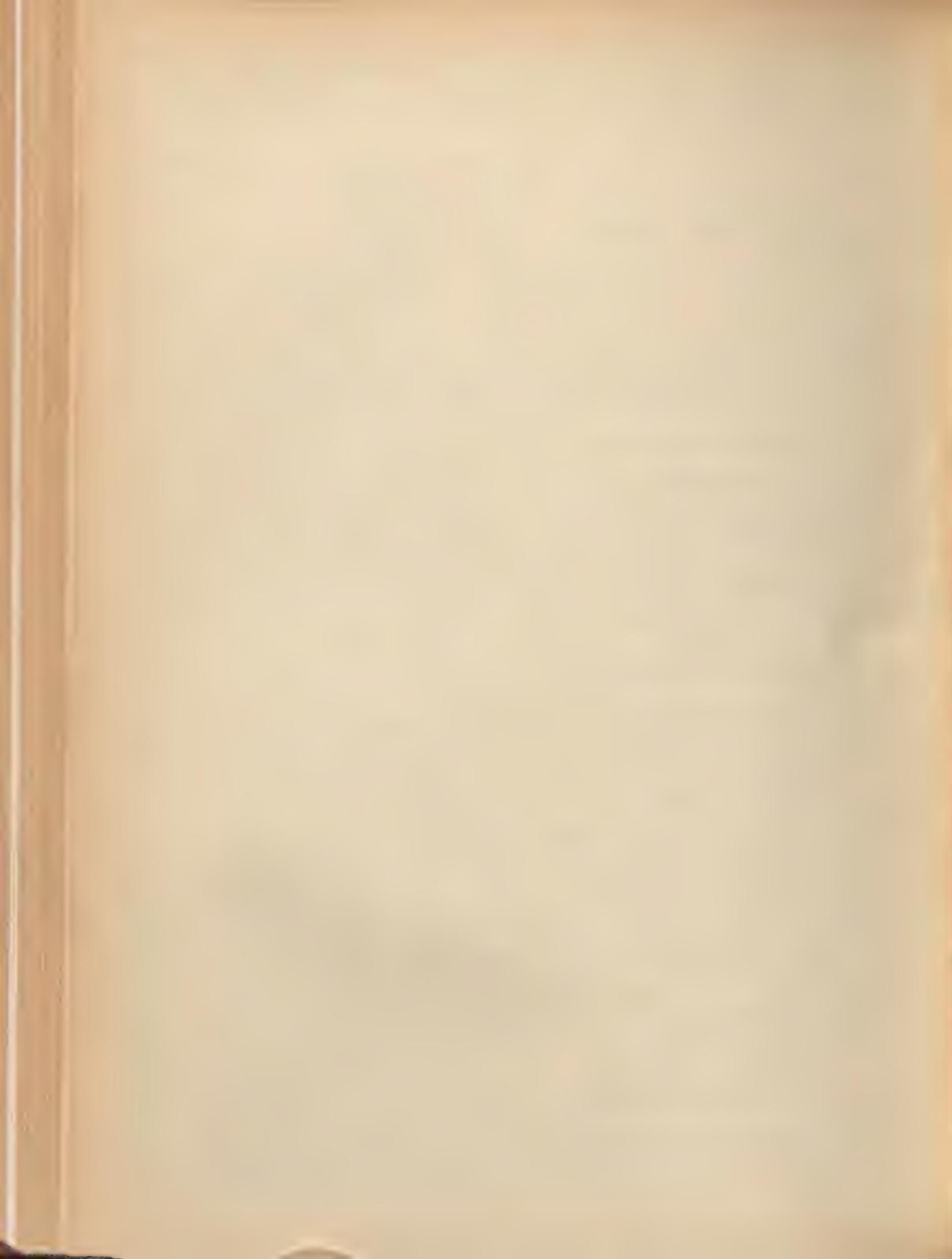
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TABLE SHOWING THE DIFFERENT PLACES ON SION MENTIONED BY DIFFERENT WRITERS. THE PLACES DESCRIBED BY EACH WRITER ARE MARKED X.

		Names of Places.		Names of Pilgrims, &c.	
		Names on Places.		Names of Pilgrims, &c.	
Approximate Dates, A.D.		326	333	385	386
1.	The Palace, or Tower of David .....		X		BORDEAUX PILGRIM.
2.	The Church of Sion .....				ST. SYLVIA.
3.	The place where Jesus appeared .....		X		ST. PAULA.
4.	The Descent of the Holy Ghost .....			X	EUCHERIUS.
5.	The House of St. Mark .....				TITE BREVARY.
6.	The House of St. James .....				THEODOSIUS.
7.	The Church of St. James .....				THEODORUS.
	Construction of Churches at Jerusalem by the Emperor Constantine and his Mother.				
	The Palace, or Tower of David .....				
	The Church of Sion .....				
	The place where Jesus appeared .....				
	The Descent of the Holy Ghost .....				
	The House of St. Mark .....				
	The House of St. James .....				
	The Church of St. James .....				
	The House of Annas .....				
	The Church of the Holy Angels .....				
	The House of Caiaphas .....				
	The Church of St. Peter .....				
	The Praetorium of Pilate .....				
	Chapel of St. Saviour .....				
	The Church of St. Mary on Sion .....				
	The place where St. Mary died .....				
	The place of the Last Supper .....				
	The place of Washing the Apostles' Feet .....				
	The place where Jesus appeared .....				
	The Descent of the Holy Ghost .....				
	The House of St. John .....				
	The Tomb of David .....				
	The Tomb of Stephen .....				
	The Church of St. Sophia .....				
	The Judgment Hall of Pilate .....				
	The Church of Peter's Denial .....				
	Capture of Jerusalem by Chosroes, the Persian, and destruction of Churches.				
	Capture of Jerusalem by the Khalif Omar.				
	Capture of Jerusalem by the Crusaders and the Latin Kingdom established.				
	Capture of Jerusalem by Saladin.				
	Christians driven out of Jerusalem by the Kharezmians.				
	The City of Jerusalem.				
	Burchard.				
	Marino Sanuto.				
	Guide Book to Palestine.				
	Join Poloner.				
	Felix Patri.				
	Capture of Jerusalem by the Turks under Sultan Selim I.				



Jerusalem, as these have an important bearing on the question of the traditional sites on Sion.

There is, so far as I have been able to trace, no account extant written by anyone who actually saw any of these sites before the discovery of the Holy Sepulchre by order of the Emperor Constantine in A.D. 326, and it is somewhat remarkable that Eusebius, who gave so full an account of the churches built at Golgotha and the Holy Sepulchre, makes no mention of the existence of a church on Sion. The Bordeaux Pilgrim also, who visited Jerusalem about A.D. 333, when the Church of Golgotha was in process of construction, makes no mention of a church on Sion.

This pilgrim, who gives a clear account of his walk round Jerusalem,<sup>1</sup> seems to have entered the city from the north, and passed down the Eastern Hill by the place where the Temple formerly stood. Here he saw the two statues which Hadrian had erected on the site of the Temple. Then leaving the Temple enclosure at the southern end, he saw the Pool of Siloam down in the valley to his left, and went up the Western Hill, which he calls Mount Sion. He then writes as follows:—

“ On this side one goes up Sion and sees where the House of Caiaphas the priest was, and there still stands a column against which Christ was beaten with rods. But, within, inside the wall of Sion, is seen the place where was David’s palace. Of seven synagogues which once were there, one alone remains; the rest are ploughed over and sown upon, as said Isaiah the Prophet.

“ From thence, as you go out of the wall of Sion, as you walk towards the Gate of Neapolis, on the right hand below in the valley are walls, where was the House or Praetorium of Pontius Pilate. Here our Lord was tried before His Passion. On the left hand is the little hill of Golgotha where the Lord was crucified. About a stone’s throw from thence is a crypt wherein His body was laid, and He rose again on the third day. There, at present, by order of the Emperor Constantine, a basilica has been built.”

From the above description, it appears that the pilgrim saw the House of Caiaphas at the same place as that where it is shown at the present time, but he mentions no Christian church on Sion, and it is difficult to understand why, if it was there at that time, A.D. 333, he makes no allusion to it.

<sup>1</sup> See *Palestine Pilgrims’ Texts*, Vol. I. “Bordeaux Pilgrim,” pp. 19–24.

The first writer who speaks of having actually seen a church on Sion is the lady pilgrim, usually known as St. Sylvia, who visited Jerusalem about A.D. 385, fifty years later than the Bordeaux Pilgrim, and she, in her description of the church services held at Jerusalem, refers to this church several times. In speaking of the festival of Easter, she says<sup>1</sup> :—

“ On the Lord’s Day (*i.e.*, Easter Day), after vespers at the “ Anastasis (the Church of the Holy Sepulchre), all the people “ escort the bishop with hymns to Sion. When they have come “ there, hymns suitable to the day and place are sung, prayer is “ offered, and that place is read from the Gospel where, on the “ same day, the Lord entered in to the disciples when the doors “ were shut, in the same place where the church now is in Sion.”

And in describing the services at Pentecost, she says:—

“ As soon as the Mass is over in the Martyrium (the great “ Church of Golgotha), all the people together escort the bishop to “ Sion with hymns, and they get to Sion when it is now the third “ hour. And when they have come there, that place from the Acts “ of the Apostles is read where the Spirit descends, so that all “ nations might understand the things that are spoken, and, after “ that, Mass is celebrated in due order. For the priests read the “ passage from the Acts of the Apostles (because the place is in “ Sion, there is another church there now), where once after the “ Lord’s Passion a multitude was collected with the Apostles, when “ this happened of which we spoke above.”

St. Sylvia gives no indication of the place in Sion where the church was situated, but it is evidently the same as that mentioned by Epiphanius, who also wrote towards the end of the fourth century. Another pilgrim to Jerusalem at the same time was St. Paula,<sup>2</sup> who says of Sion:—

“ Leaving that place, she ascended Sion, which signifies ‘citadel’ “ or, ‘watch-tower.’ . . . There was shown a column supporting “ the portico of a church, stained with the blood of the Lord, to “ which He is said to have been bound and scourged. The place “ was shown where the Holy Spirit descended upon the souls of “ over one hundred and twenty believers, that the prophecy of Joel “ might be fulfilled.”

<sup>1</sup> See *Palestine Pilgrims’ Texts*, Vol. I. “St. Sylvia,” pp. 67-69.

<sup>2</sup> See *Palestine Pilgrims’ Texts*, Vol. I. “Sancta Paula,” p. 6.

The next document dealing with the question is a letter, supposed to have been written by Eucherius, Bishop of Lyons, about A.D. 440, in which he gives a description of Jerusalem. Of Sion he says<sup>1</sup> :—

" Mount Sion on one side, that which faces north, is set apart for the dwellings of priests and monks; the level ground on its summit is covered by the cells of monks surrounding a church, which, it is said, was built there by the Apostles out of reverence for the place of our Lord's Resurrection; because, as promised before by the Lord, they were filled with the Holy Ghost."

This statement does not give much help in fixing the position of the Church of Sion, but it shows, at all events, that at that time (A.D. 440), there was no tradition connecting it with the place of the Last Supper. There is another point to be noted in the accounts of these earlier pilgrims; there is no reference to the Virgin Mary; no mention of the place of her birth, her death, or her burial.

It is a little difficult to fix a date for the commencement of the cult of the Virgin Mary; I speak under correction, but I have not been able to find anything positive on the subject earlier than the fifth century. Perhaps, if it was necessary to fix a definite date, the time of the Council of Ephesus, A.D. 431, may be taken as fixing the period when the idea that great reverence was to be shown to the Virgin was widely spread, and traditions with regard to her were becoming general. One of these, as recorded in an epistle of the Council of Ephesus, was to the effect that she lived with St. John in Ephesus, and died in that city; whereas there was another, that she remained in Jerusalem after the crucifixion and died there. Of course each place would claim the honour, and, as four centuries had passed since the date of the Crucifixion, it would have been difficult to prove which tradition was correct. But one thing is certain, that up to the time of Eucherius, there is no mention of a church built in honour of St. Mary at Jerusalem, and it is not possible to say when the first Church of St. Mary was dedicated, as there is an interval of nearly a century before the next contemporary accounts of Jerusalem were written.

There are then three, all considered by Tobler as belonging approximately to the year A.D. 530. These are the tract known as

<sup>1</sup> See *Palestine Pilgrims' Texts*, Vol. II. "St. Eucherius," p. 8.

the *Breviary of Jerusalem*, and the accounts written by Theodosius<sup>1</sup> and Theodorus.<sup>2</sup> There is a strong resemblance between them, especially as regards the two latter, and it is a little difficult to believe that they are independent descriptions, notwithstanding certain differences. It is unnecessary to refer further to the *Breviary* as it contains much less information and mentions no site on Sion except those described by the other two writers.

The accounts given by Theodosius and Theodorus differ in some very important respects from those of preceding pilgrims; they mention two churches dedicated to St. Mary, one near the Sheep Pool and the other in the Valley of Jehoshaphat, and they describe the site of the Last Supper, now referred to for the first time, as being close to the latter church, which marked the site of the burial of the Virgin, and, apparently, at the same place as the church shown at the present day as the Tomb of St. Mary. As regards this church and its surroundings, the two descriptions are as follows:—

#### THEODOSIUS.

“There is the Valley of Jeho-  
“shaphat; there Judas betrayed  
“the Lord. There is the Church  
“of St. Mary, the mother of the  
“Lord. There, too, the Lord washed  
“his Disciples’ feet, and there he  
“supped. Four couches are there,  
“on which the Lord and his  
“Apostles around Him reclined;  
“each couch accommodates three  
“persons. At the present day  
“some persons, as a religious ob-  
“servance when they go there,  
“delight to eat their food (except  
“flesh) in that place; and they  
“light lamps where the Lord  
“washed the Apostles’ feet, for the  
“spot is in the cave. Two hundred  
“monks are in the habit of going  
“down there.”

#### THEODORUS.

“There is the Valley of Jeho-  
“shaphat. There the Lord will  
“judge the just and the sinful.  
“There is the River Purinos, which  
“will pour out fire at the end of  
“time, and there is the basilica of  
“Mary, the Lord’s mother, and  
“there is her sepulchre. And there  
“Judas betrayed the Lord, and  
“there is the place where the  
“Lord supped with His disciples.  
“There, also, the Lord washed His  
“Apostles’ feet. There are four  
“couches where the Lord lay with  
“His Apostles, Himself in the  
“midst, which couches will hold  
“three men, and now some, through  
“piety, when they come there, de-  
“light to eat their food (save only  
“meat) and light lamps where the  
“Lord himself washed His apostles’  
“feet, for that place is a cave, and  
“only two hundred monks can  
“enter it.”

<sup>1</sup> See *Palestine Pilgrims' Texts*, Vol. II. “The Breviary. Theodosius.”

<sup>2</sup> See *Jerusalem Volume of the Memoirs*, p. 18. “Theodorus.”

It is clear from the above that, at this date (*circa* A.D. 530), the place of the Last Supper was shown at the foot of the Mount of Olives and *not* on Sion.

As regards the sites on Sion, the descriptions of the two writers are as follows:—

#### THEODOSIUS.

"From Golgotha it is two hundred paces to Holy Sion, the mother of all churches; which Sion our Lord Christ founded with His Apostles. It was the House of St. Mark the Evangelist. From Holy Sion to the House of Caiaphas, now the Church of St. Peter, it is fifty paces, more or less. From the House of Caiaphas to the Hall of Pilate it is one hundred paces, more or less. There is the Church of St. Sophia. Hard by holy Jeremiah was cast into the pit."

\* \* \* \* \*

The Pool of Siloam is one hundred paces from the place where the Prophet Jeremiah was cast into the pit; the pool is within the wall. From the House of Pilate to the Pool of the Sheep Market is about one hundred paces. There the Lord Christ cured the palsied man, whose bed is still there. Also, near the Pool of the Sheep Market, is the Church of St. Mary."

#### THEODORUS.

"From Golgotha even to Holy Sion are paces in number two hundred, which is the mother of all churches, which Sion our Lord founded with His Apostles. There was the House of St. Mark the Evangelist."

\* \* \* \* \*

"From Holy Sion to the House of Caiaphas, which is now the Church of St. Peter, are about fifty paces by number. From the House of Caiaphas to the Praetorium of Pilate, about one hundred paces by number. There is the Church of St. Sophia. Near it Jeremiah was placed in the pool.

"The Pool of Siloam is one hundred paces from the pool where Jeremiah the Prophet was put, which pool (*i.e.*, of Siloam) is inside the wall. From the House of Pilate to the Sheep Pool is about one hundred paces. There the Lord cured the paralytic, whose bed even yet remains there. Beside the Sheep Pool is the Church of St. Mary, where the sick wash and are healed."

The Church of St. Mary here mentioned appears to have been on the site now occupied by the Church of St. Anne (Site II), the mother of the Virgin, north of the Temple area. It was possibly built to commemorate the birth of the Virgin, just as the church already alluded to at the foot of the Mount of Olives was built to commemorate her burial.

It will be observed that the sites on Sion are described in the order :—

Golgotha.

The Mother Church of Sion.

The House of Caiaphas.

The Praetorium of Pilate, or Church of St. Sophia.

Siloam.

This shows that in A.D. 530 the Church of Sion was *north* of the House of Caiaphas, and it is possible that the former was at or near the place now occupied by the convent of St. James. The relative distances from Golgotha to Sion, and Sion to the House of Caiaphas (see Plan), agree fairly well with this. But the position of the then Church of Sion cannot be the same as that of the Coenaculum, which is *south* of the House of Caiaphas. The Praetorium of Pilate, described by Theodosius, seems to have been somewhere on the eastern slope of Sion, on or near the road to Siloam.

Not long after the time of these writers, the Emperor Justinian built the great Church of St. Mary at Jerusalem. This Emperor did much to encourage the cult of the Virgin. Procopius wrote<sup>1</sup> :—

“The Emperor Justinian built in all parts of the Roman Empire  
“many churches dedicated to the Virgin so magnificent and large,  
“and constructed with such a lavish expenditure of money, that  
“a person beholding any one of them singly would imagine it to  
“have been his only work, and that he had spent the whole period  
“of his reign in adorning it alone.”

And of the Church at Jerusalem he said<sup>2</sup> :—

“At Jerusalem he built a church in honour of the Virgin, to  
“which no other can be compared.”

There were already in Jerusalem two churches, one to commemorate the birth of the Virgin, and one at the place where she was supposed to have been buried, and the church of Justinian appears to have been built in honour of the place of her death.

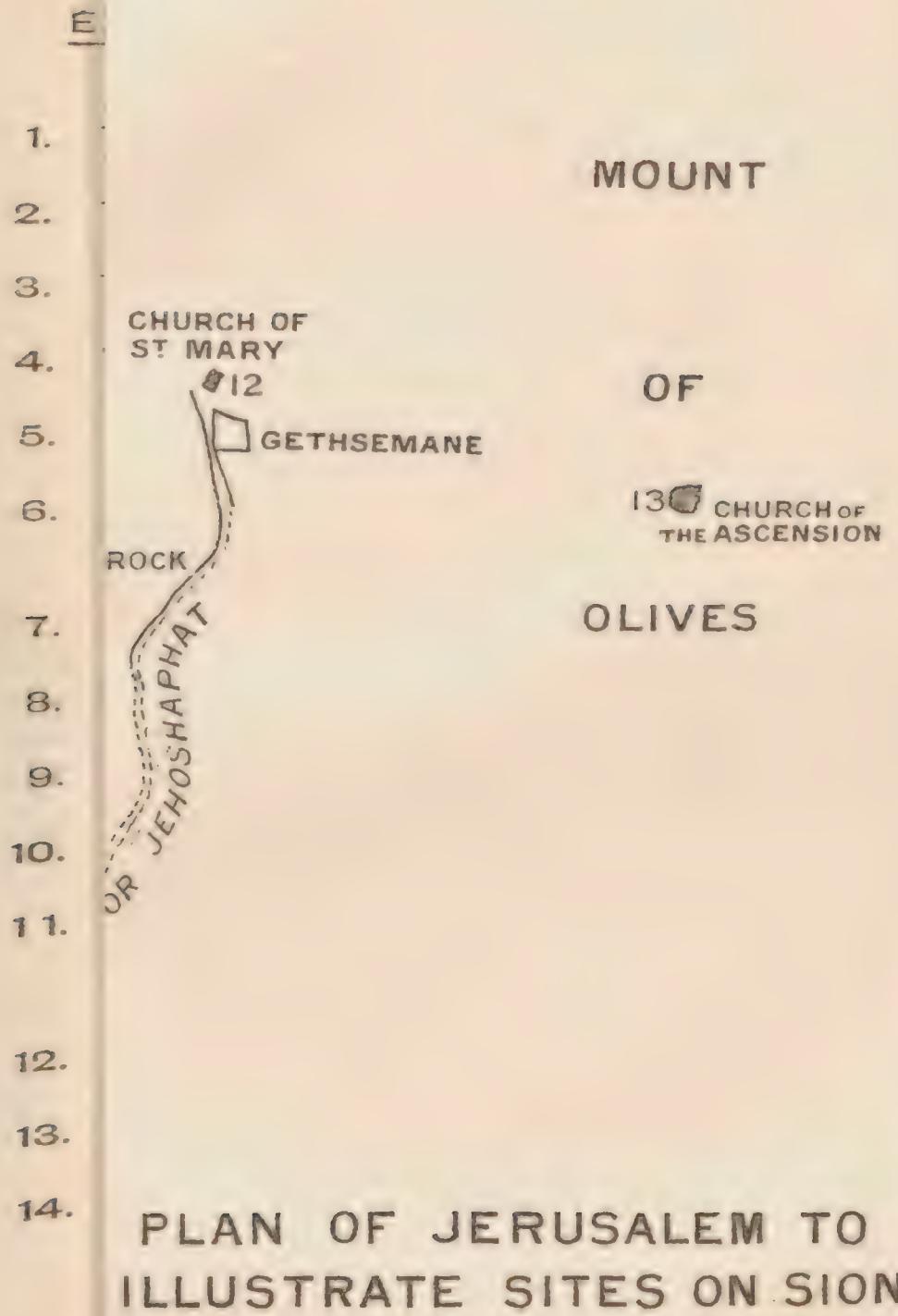
In a Paper which I contributed to the *Quarterly Statement* for 1903<sup>3</sup> are given the reasons for believing that this Church of Justinian was situated on Sion, at or near the place now occupied by the Coenaculum, and not, as some have supposed, on the site of the

<sup>1</sup> See *Palestine Pilgrims' Texts*, Vol. II. “Procopius,” p. 15.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 158.

<sup>3</sup> See *Quarterly Statement*, 1903, pp. 250, 344.

PLAN I.  
PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND



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It will be observed that the sites on Sion are described in the order :—

- Golgotha.
- The Mother Church of Sion.
- The House of Caiaphas.
- The Praetorium of Pilate, or Church of St. Sophia.
- Siloam.

This shows that in A.D. 530 the Church of Sion was *north* of the House of Caiaphas, and it is possible that the former was at or near the place now occupied by the convent of St. James. The relative distances from Golgotha to Sion, and Sion to the House of Caiaphas (see Plan), agree fairly well with this. But the position of the then Church of Sion cannot be the same as that of the Coenaculum, which is *south* of the House of Caiaphas. The Praetorium of Pilate, described by Theodosius, seems to have been somewhere on the eastern slope of Sion, on or near the road to Siloam.

Not long after the time of these writers, the Emperor Justinian built the great Church of St. Mary at Jerusalem. This Emperor did much to encourage the cult of the Virgin. Procopius wrote<sup>1</sup> :—

“ The Emperor Justinian built in all parts of the Roman Empire  
“ many churches dedicated to the Virgin so magnificent and large,  
“ and constructed with such a lavish expenditure of money, that  
“ a person beholding any one of them singly would imagine it to  
“ have been his only work, and that he had spent the whole period  
“ of his reign in adorning it alone.”

And of the Church at Jerusalem he said<sup>2</sup> :—

“ At Jerusalem he built a church in honour of the Virgin, to  
“ which no other can be compared.”

There were already in Jerusalem two churches, one to commemorate the birth of the Virgin, and one at the place where she was supposed to have been buried, and the church of Justinian appears to have been built in honour of the place of her death.

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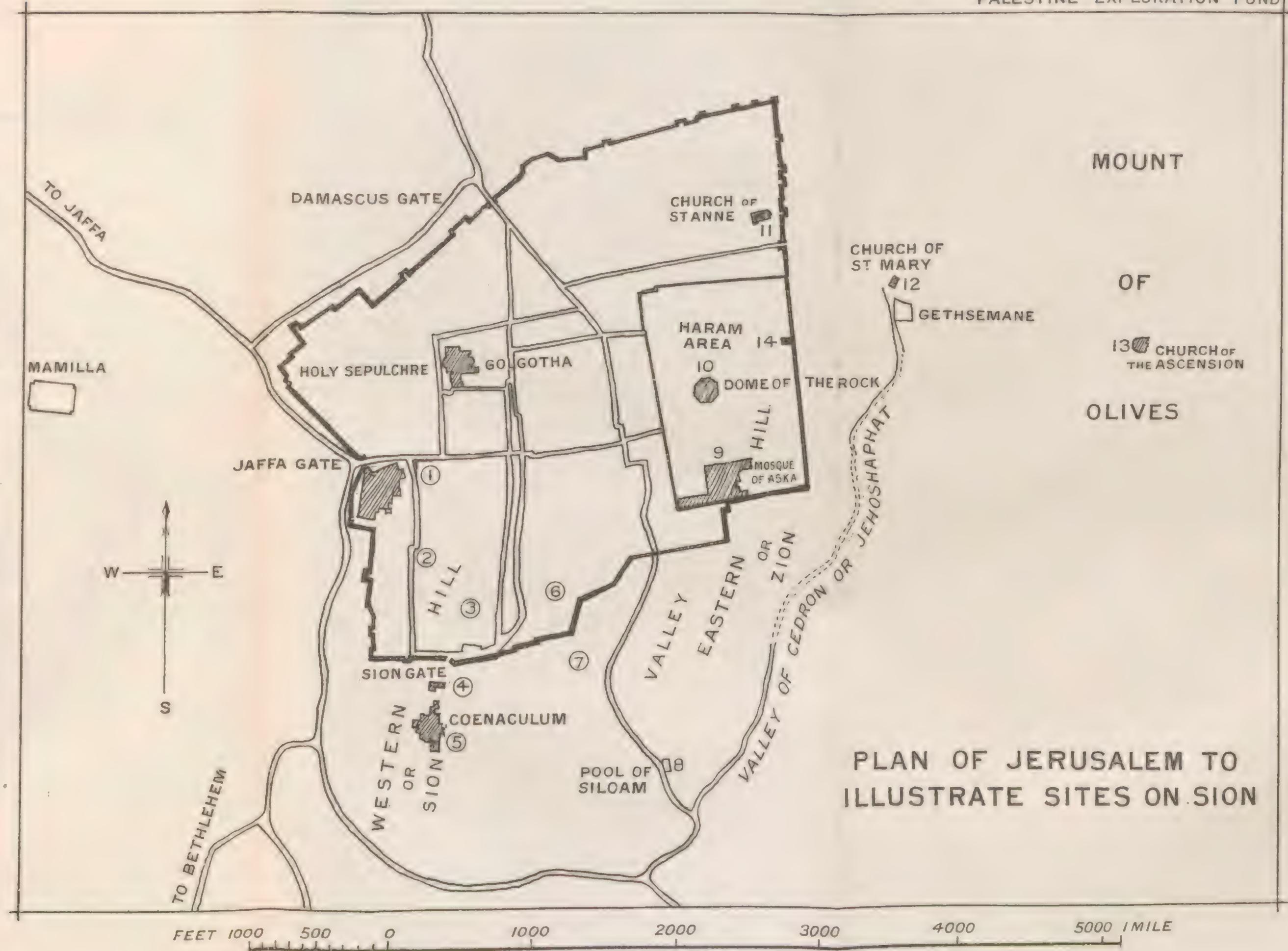
<sup>1</sup> See *Palestine Pilgrims' Texts*, Vol. II. “ Procopius,” p. 15.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 138.

<sup>3</sup> See *Quarterly Statement*, 1903, pp. 250, 344.

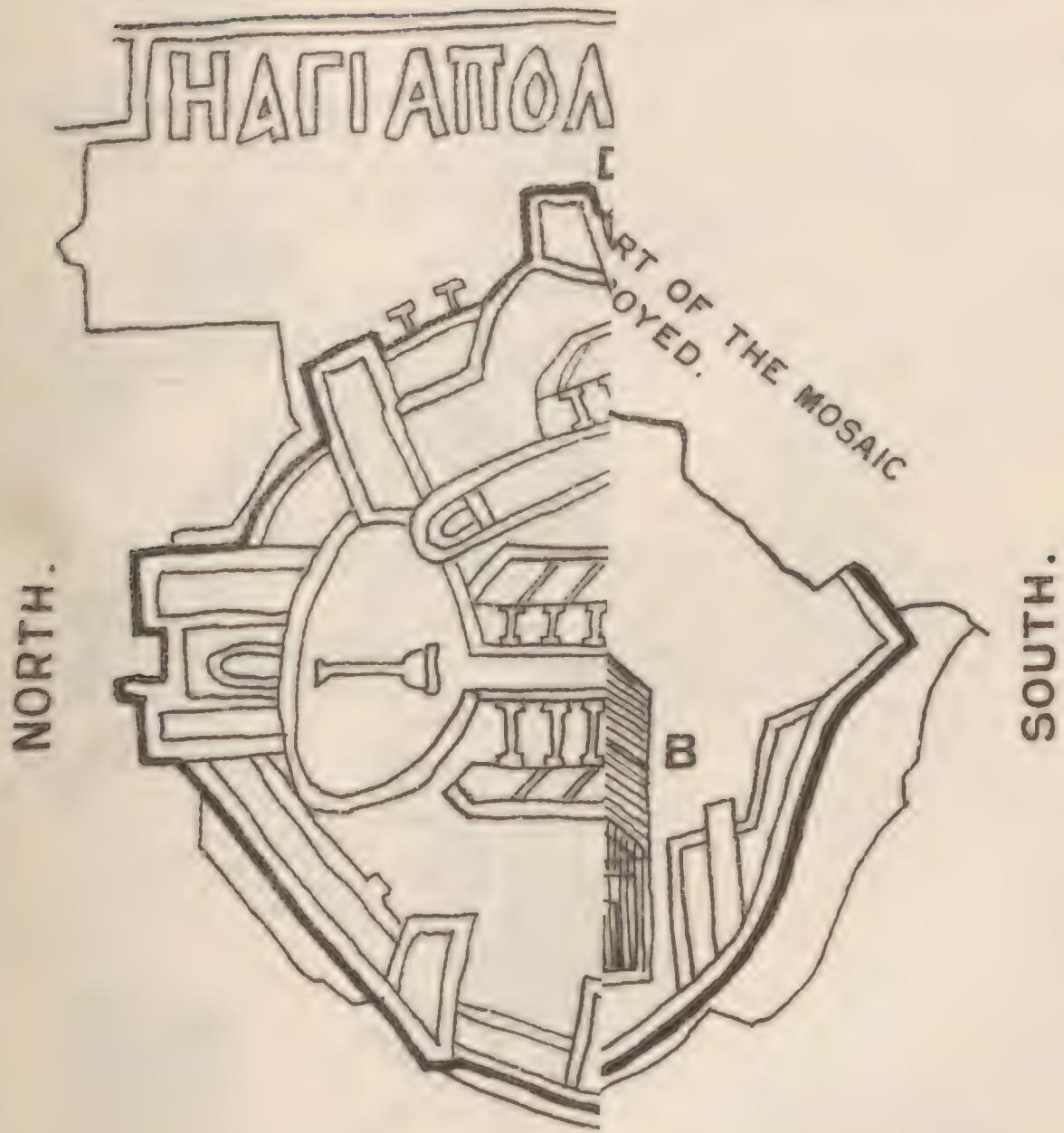
EXPLANATION OF NUMBERS.

1. The Tower of David.
2. The Convent of St. James.
3. The House of Annas.
4. The House of Caiaphas.
5. The Church of St. Mary on Sion.
6. Probable Site of St. Sophia and Praetorium of Pilate.
7. The Cave of St. Peter.
8. The Pool of Siloam.
9. The Mosque of Aksa.
10. The Dome of the Rock.
11. Church of St. Anne.  
Probable Site of the Church of the Birth of St. Mary.
12. The Tomb of St. Mary.
13. The Church of the Ascension.
14. The Golden Gate.



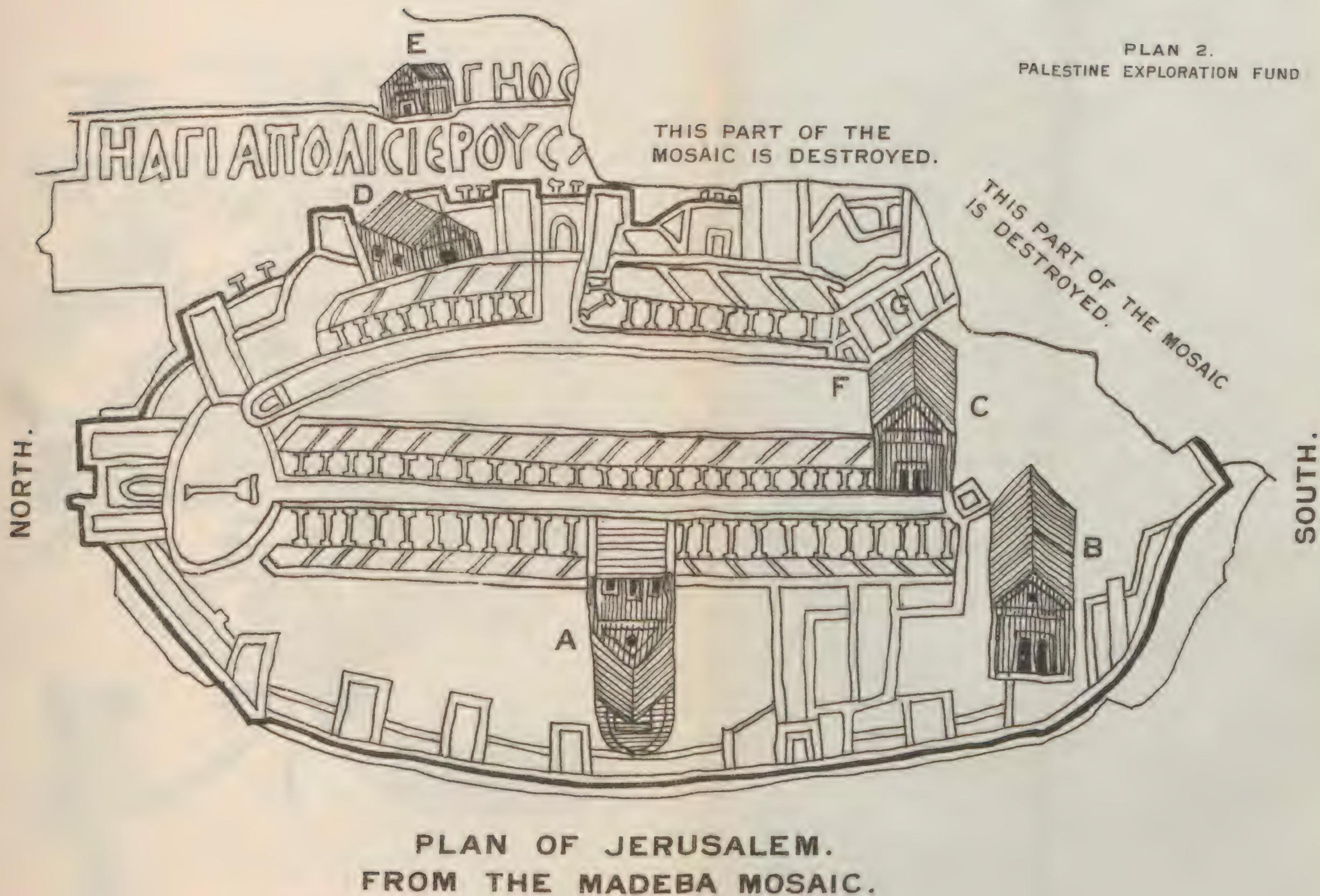


PLAN 2.  
STINE EXPLORATION FUND





PLAN 2.  
PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND





### **PLAN 3.**

## PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND.



FACSIMILE OF TWELFTH CENTURY MAP OF JERUSALEM.



Mosque of Aksa in the Haram enclosure ; it is unnecessary, therefore, to repeat these arguments, and I shall assume that the church was on Sion. (Site 5 on Plan.) The first pilgrim to mention it is Antoninus, who visited Jerusalem not many years after the church was built (A.D. 570). The following is his account of the holy places on Sion, with those parts omitted, which do not refer to the question of sites<sup>1</sup> :—

“ Thence (*i.e.*, from Golgotha), we ascended to the Tower of David, where we chanted the Psalter. It is of great size and in it are dwellings for monks in separate cells . . . . Thence we came to the basilica of the Holy Sion, where are many wonders, amongst which is the corner-stone mentioned in Scripture, which was rejected by the builders. When the Lord Jesus Christ entered that very church, which was then the House of St. James, He found that shapeless stone lying in the midst ; He lifted it up and placed it upon the corner . . . . From Sion we came to the Basilica of the Blessed Mary where is a large congregation of monks, and where are also hospices (for strangers both) for men and women. There I was received as a pilgrim ; there were countless tables, and more than three thousand beds for sick persons. We prayed in the Praetorium, where the Lord was tried, which is now the Basilica of St. Sophia. In front of the ruins of the Temple of Solomon under the street, water runs down to the fountain of Siloam. Near the Porch of Solomon, in the church itself, is the seat upon which Pilate sat when he tried our Lord . . . . Thence we came to an arch where was the ancient gate of the city. At that place is the putrid water into which the Prophet Jeremiah was cast. Descending from that arch down to the fountain of Siloam by many steps, we saw the round church from beneath which Siloa rises.”

The Church of Holy Sion, described by Antoninus, appears to be the same as that referred to by Theodosius and Theodorus, but it is called the House of St. James, a very important point, as it connects this site with the place where the Convent of St. James now stands. The Church of St. Mary is evidently that which had been recently built by Justinian, and described by Procopius. The sites are given by Antoninus in the following order :—

<sup>1</sup> See *Palestine Pilgrims' Texts*, Vol. II. “Antoninus,” p. 17.

Golgotha.

The Tower of David.

The Church of Holy Sion.

The Church of St. Mary.

The Church of St. Sophia, or Praetorium.

The Gate of the City.

The Steps down to Siloam.

The Pool of Siloam.

This agrees with the description by Theodosius, except that the Church of St. Mary is added and the House of Caiaphas is omitted. The latter ceases to be mentioned by any pilgrim for more than five hundred years, and then reappears on its original site.

So far the topography of the sites is fairly satisfactory, but I now come to a piece of evidence of the greatest possible importance; the Mosaic map of Palestine discovered at Madeba, east of Jordan, in 1896. The date of this map is not fixed with absolute certainty, but it is believed to have been made some time in the second half of the sixth century, the epoch of the Emperor Justinian, who caused some important works to be executed at Madeba.<sup>1</sup> On this map is a representation of the city of Jerusalem, which greatly helps in understanding the account of Antoninus. The annexed plan (Plan 2) is a copy of that portion of the map, but, to make it clearer, unnecessary detail and the names of places outside Jerusalem have been omitted. The city is shown with the north on the left, and the south on the right hand: the part of the Mosaic containing the Mount of Olives and the south-east corner of Jerusalem has unfortunately been destroyed.

The plan shows very clearly the walls, towers, and gates; two main streets with colonnades lead from the north gate (which is on the site of the present Damascus Gate) southward through the town, and extend as far as where the existing south wall stands. These streets follow approximately the lines of two of the present streets, see Plan 1. The centre street ends in what may be a gate, while the east street terminates in a gate F, opening on to a flight of broad steps G, leading down to Siloam, thus agreeing exactly with the description given by Antoninus.

Five buildings, evidently churches, are shown on the plan. Of these the first, A, is the great Basilica of the Martyrium, built by

<sup>1</sup> See *Quarterly Statement*, 1897, p. 224.

Constantine at Golgotha; the three doors, facing the rising sun, as described by Eusebius,<sup>1</sup> are clearly indicated. The second church, B, in the south part of Sion, seems to be the basilica of St. Mary, built by Justinian; in this case the great entrance doors face *west*, in accordance with the account of the church given by Procopius.<sup>2</sup> Farther to the east is another large church, C, which stands at the end of the centre main street, and between it and the east street, in a position which corresponds with that of the church of St. Sophia, as described by Theodosius, Theodorus, and Antoninus; at the north-east end of this church are the gate and the steps leading down to Siloam, already referred to.

The two other churches are; first that at D, which appears to be the Church of St. Mary, by the Pool of the Sheep Market, on the site of the present Church of St. Anne; and the other, E, which is evidently the Church of the Tomb of the Virgin, at the foot of the Mount of Olives. Close to the latter are the letters "**ΓΗΘΟC.**," the beginning of the word '*Γεθσημανη*', but the other letters are destroyed. Under this, in large letters, is the name of the city, "**ΗΑΓΙΑΠΟΛΙΣΙΕΡΟΥC**," the concluding letters *αλην* being also destroyed.

The position of these two churches agree with those given to them by the pilgrims whose accounts have been quoted.

Taking it altogether, the information afforded by the Madaba Mosaic is a remarkable confirmation of the description of the sixth century churches in Jerusalem given by the pilgrims, and it is fortunate that it was executed before the capture of Jerusalem by Chosroes and the Persians in A.D. 614.

In the Annals of Eutychius this event is described in the following words<sup>3</sup>:

"Now when he (*i.e.*, Chosroes) came to Jerusalem, he destroyed "the Church of Gethsemane, and also the Church of Helena,<sup>4</sup> both "of which remain in ruins to this day. He also destroyed the "churches of Constantine, that of Golgotha, and of the Holy "Sepulchre; he set Golgotha and the Holy Sepulchre on fire, and

<sup>1</sup> See *Palestine Pilgrims' Texts*, Vol. I. "Constantine," p. 8.

<sup>2</sup> See *Palestine Pilgrims' Texts*, Vol. II, "Procopius," p. 142.

<sup>3</sup> See *Palestine Pilgrims' Texts*, Vol. XI. "Eutychius," p. 36.

<sup>4</sup> The Church of Gethsemane appears to be the church of the Tomb of the Virgin, and the Church of Helena, the church built by that Empress on the Mount of Olives.

"destroyed the greater part of the city as well, while the Persians and Jews together slew innumerable Christians. These are the corpses which lie in the place at Jerusalem called Mamilla."

Monsieur Clermont-Ganneau, in the *Quarterly Statement* for 1898, has directed attention to a very interesting Arabic document,<sup>1</sup> containing an account of the capture of Jerusalem by the Persians, in which is given a detailed list of the churches and other places from which corpses, amounting in all to 62,455, were taken for burial after the massacre. The larger number of corpses, 24,518, naturally came from Mamilla, where the prisoners seem to have been assembled and murdered *en masse*.

Among the other places mentioned are:—the New Church, which is identified by Monsieur Ganneau as the Basilica of St. Mary, built by Justinian; the Church of St. Sophia; and the House of St. James, which may be the House of St. James mentioned by Antoninus as the original site of the Church of Holy Sion.

This is the last time, so far as I know, that the Church of St. Sophia is mentioned; it is therefore probable that it was destroyed by the Persians. The Church of St. Mary, on the other hand, appears to have escaped total destruction, possibly because it was outside the city to the south and more out of the way.

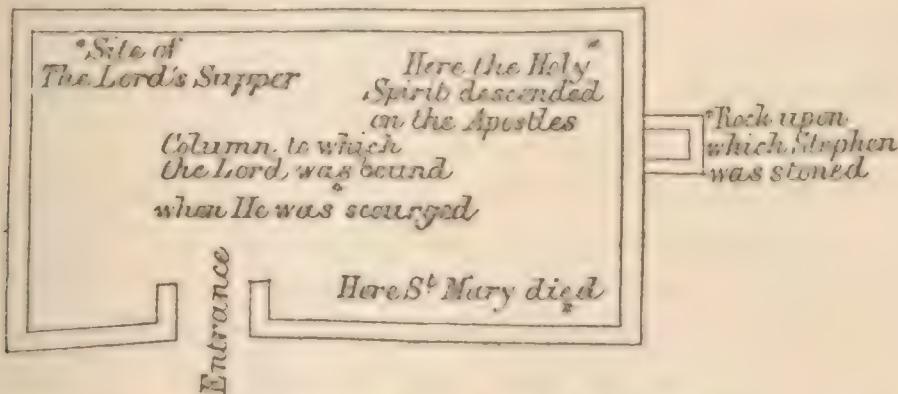
In A.D. 629, the Emperor Heraclius reoccupied Jerusalem, but it was not long held by the Christians, for, in A.D. 637, it was captured by the Mohamedans under the Khalif Omar, who behaved with great leniency to the Christians, and left them their churches.

The first pilgrim who has left an account of the state of Jerusalem after these events is Arculfus, who visited the Holy Land about A.D. 670, when the city was in the hands of the Mohamedans, but prior to the erection of the Dome of the Rock or the Mosque of Aksa. In his description, the sites on Sion enter upon an entirely new phase (see Table). The old Church of Sion, the House of Caiaphas, and the Church of St. Sophia, are not mentioned at all, while, on the other hand, a number of traditional sites previously attached to other places, have been transferred to the Church of St. Mary on Sion. Here, for the first time, was shown the place of the Last Supper, and the place where the Holy Spirit descended upon the Apostles at the day of Pentecost. The description of Sion given by Arculfus is as follows<sup>2</sup>:

<sup>1</sup> See *Quarterly Statement*, 1898, p. 42.

<sup>2</sup> See *Palestine Pilgrims' Texts*, Vol. III. "Arculfus," p. 20.

" Mention was made of Mount Sion a little above, and here a short and succinct notice must be inserted of a great basilica erected there, a drawing of which is given here."



PLAN OF THE CHURCH ON MOUNT SION.

(From *Palestine Pilgrim's Texts*, Vol. III. "Arculfus," p. 20.

" Here is shown the rock upon which Stephen, being stoned without the city, fell asleep. Beyond the great church described above, which embraces within its walls such holy places, there stands another memorable rock, on the west side of which, as is said, Stephen was stoned."

It is curious that, while Arculfus thus definitely fixes the site of the Last Supper on Sion, he also gives the tradition of the former site on the Mount of Olives in the following words<sup>1</sup> :—

" In the side of the Mount of Olives is a cave, not far from the Church of St. Mary, placed on the higher ground across the Valley of Jehosaphat, having in it two very deep wells, one of which descends to a great depth under the mountain, while the other is in the pavement of the cave, its immense cavity being, as is said, directed in a straight course, descending into the depths: these two wells are always closed. In the same cave are four stone tables, of which the one nearest the entrance of the cave on the inside is that of our Lord Jesus Christ, His seat, beyond doubt, adjoining His little table; here He was in the habit sometimes of sitting at meat with His twelve Apostles, who, at the same time, sat at the other tables in the same place."

From the time of Arculfus (A.D. 670) to the capture of Jerusalem by the Crusaders (A.D. 1099), there are only two accounts by pilgrims, the first by St. Willibald (A.D. 754) and the second by

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 18.

Bernard the Wise (A.D. 870). Of these, St. Willibald gives little information as regards the sites on Sion, as he was very ill during his visit to Jerusalem; but he mentions the church and says that "Holy Mary departed out of the world in that place in the midst of Jerusalem that is called Holy Sion."<sup>1</sup>

The description by Bernard<sup>2</sup> is rather fuller, and contains some interesting points. It is as follows:—

"Moreover, in the city there is yet another church to the south, on Mount Sion, called the Church of St. Simeon; there the Lord washed the feet of His disciples. In this hangs the Lord's crown of thorns, and here it is reported that St. Mary died. Near which, to the east, is a church in honour of St. Stephen, in the place where he is said to have been stoned. Further east is a church in honour of blessed Peter in the place where he denied the Lord . . . . Going forth from Jerusalem we descended to the Valley of Jehoshaphat, distant a mile from the city, containing the Garden of Gethsemane, with the birth-place of St. Mary, where there is a very large church in honour of her. In the garden, also, is the round church of St. Mary, where is her sepulchre, which, having no roof over it, stands rain badly. In the same place is a church, where the Lord was betrayed, with the four round tables of His Supper."

It is difficult to understand why Bernard calls the church on Sion "St. Simeon," as he is the only pilgrim who gives it this name. One is inclined to think that "Simeon" may be a clerical error for "Sion." He places the site of the Washing the Apostles' feet at Sion, and the site of the Last Supper, according to the old tradition, at the foot of the Mount of Olives; but he is the last writer to do this. Afterwards the place of the Last Supper was shown only on Sion.

Bernard does not mention the House of Caiaphas, nor the Church of St. Peter therein, but he is the first to speak of the church on the east slope of Sion (No. 7 on Plan No. 1), which was built over the cave where Peter was supposed to have hidden himself after his denial of our Lord.

A century after Bernard visited Jerusalem, the city was captured by the Egyptians under the Khalif el Muezz, the founder of Cairo,

<sup>1</sup> See *Palestine Pilgrims' Texts*, Vol. III. "St. Willibald," p. 21.

<sup>2</sup> See *Palestine Pilgrims' Texts*, Vol. III. "Bernard the Wise," p. 8.

and, in A.D. 1010, one of his successors, the Khalif el-Hakem, destroyed the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, and possibly some of the other churches, but St. Mary on Sion seems to have escaped. In A.D. 1074, the Egyptians, in their turn, were driven out by the Seljuk Turks, but succeeded in retaking the city in A.D. 1098, the year before the arrival of the Crusaders. In these struggles the buildings in Jerusalem probably suffered severely, but there appears to be no record of the extent of damage done to the different churches.

The next pilgrim whose account we have to deal with is Soewulf, who visited Jerusalem in A.D. 1102, just three years after the occupation of the city by the Crusaders, and probably before any alteration or rebuilding of the churches had been carried out by the Christians. His account of the churches on Sion is as follows<sup>1</sup> :—

"The Church of the Holy Ghost is on Mount Sion, outside the wall to the south, as far as one could shoot an arrow. There the apostles received the promise of the Father, namely, the Holy Ghost the Comforter, on the day of Pentecost. There they composed the Creed. In that church is a certain chapel in the place where Blessed Mary died. On the other side of the church is a chapel, on the spot where our Lord Jesus Christ, after His Resurrection, first appeared to the Apostles, and it is called Galilee, as He said Himself: 'After that I shall have risen again, I will go before you into Galilee.' That place was called Galilee, on account of the Apostles, who were called Galileans, frequently resorting thither . . . . In the Galilee of Mount Sion, where the apostles were hidden in conclave for fear of the Jews, the doors being shut, Jesus stood in the midst of them, and said: 'Peace be to you.' And again He showed Himself to them there, when Thomas put his finger into His side and into the place of the nails. There He supped with His disciples before His passion and washed their feet. There is still the marble table upon which He ate the Supper. There are the relies of St. Stephen, Nicodemus, Gamaliel, and Abibo; they were honourably placed there by the Patriarch St. John after they were found . . . . Under the wall of the city outside, on the declivity of Mount Sion, is the Church of St. Peter, which is called Gallicantus (or the cock-crowing), when he hid himself in a very deep cave, which may still be seen,

<sup>1</sup> See *Palestine Pilgrims' Texts*, Vol. IV. "Soewulf," p. 19.

" after his denial of our Lord, and then wept over his crime most bitterly."

Another pilgrim who visited Jerusalem in the early days of the Christian occupation was the Russian Abbot Daniel, who went to Palestine in A.D. 1106, and wrote an accurate account of all that he saw and heard. Of Sion he says<sup>1</sup> :—

" In the present day Mount Sion is outside the walls of the city, to the south of Jerusalem. On this Mount Sion was the House of St. John the Evangelist, and a large church with a wooden roof was erected there; it is as far as one can throw a small stone from the wall of the city to the holy Church of Sion. Behind the altar of this church is the chamber in which Christ washed the feet of His Disciples. From this room, walking towards the south, we ascend into another chamber by a staircase. The roof is supported by pillars, and is ornamented with mosaics: the chamber is well payed, and, like a church, has an altar at the east end. It was in the House of John the Evangelist that the Holy Supper of Christ with His Disciples took place; it is there that John, lying upon the bosom of Jesus, said: 'Lord, which is he that will betray Thee?' It is in this same place that the Holy Spirit descended upon the Apostles on the day of Pentecost. In the same church, on the ground floor, there is another low chamber on the south side, in which Christ appeared in the midst of His Disciples, the doors being closed, and said: 'Peace be with you,' and it is there also that He confounded Thomas on the eighth day. They show there an ancient stone, brought from Mount Sinai by an angel. On the other side of the Church to the west, there is another chamber, likewise on the ground floor, in which the Holy Virgin gave up the ghost. And all these events took place in the House of St. John the Evangelist.

" There was the House of Caiaphas where Peter denied Christ three times before the cock crowed; this place stands east of Sion.

" Not far off, on the eastern slope of the mountain, there is a deep cavern to which one descends by thirty-two steps. It is there that Peter wept bitterly after his denial. A church is built above this cave and named after the holy Apostle Peter. Farther south, at the foot of the mountain, is the Pool of Siloa, where Christ opened the eyes of the blind man."

<sup>1</sup> See *Palestine Pilgrims' Texts*, Vol. IV. "The Abbot Daniel," p. 36.

The above two accounts are specially noteworthy, as they show what were regarded as the traditional sites on Sion at the commencement of the Christian occupation of Jerusalem. The large church on Sion, south of the wall, was then existing, so that it could not have been built, as some suppose, by the Crusaders. Perhaps the wooden roof may have been that remarkable wooden roof, constructed of enormous cedar trees, which Procopius describes as having been placed on Justinian's Church of St. Mary.

The House of St. John the Evangelist is mentioned for the first time.

The House of Caiaphas reappears, after not being referred to for more than five hundred years, but the Church of St. Peter is not in the House of Caiaphas, but is transferred to the cave of Peter's denial.

There is no mention at all of the original Church of Sion within the walls, and this seems to have been entirely forgotten.

There are many accounts of Sion written by pilgrims during the period of the Latin Kingdom, from A.D. 1099 to A.D. 1187, and of these I have given the names of some of the most important in the Table, from which it will be seen that, speaking generally, there was little alteration in the traditional sites, except that from time to time fresh ones were added. It will, therefore, be necessary only to refer to the alterations and not to speak of those sites which remained unchanged.

One of these additions is very curious. The first pilgrim to refer to it is Fetellus, who wrote about A.D. 1130. In speaking of Mount Sion, after describing the various holy places to be seen in the church of St. Mary, he adds<sup>1</sup> :—

"In Mount Sion David and Solomon, and the other Kings of Jerusalem, are said to be buried."

According to the accounts in the Bible, David and Solomon were buried in the city of David, which, there is little doubt, was on the Eastern Hill of Jerusalem and south of the Temple, a long way from the Christian Sion, and no previous writer speaks of their tombs in connection with the latter. In order to find the origin of the strange story, it is necessary to refer to the account of his travels, written by Benjamin of Tudela, the learned Jew who visited Jerusalem in A.D. 1163. He relates that a few years previous to his

<sup>1</sup> See *Palestine Pilgrims' Texts*, Vol. V. "Fetellus," p. 42.

visit, some workmen who were repairing the wall of the Church of Sion, broke into a cavern in the hill where they saw a large hall with marble pillars, encrusted with gold and silver, in which was a table with a golden crown and sceptre upon it. Chests stood round, but before they could examine them, a terrible blast of wind drove them out of the cave, and left them nearly dead. They heard a voice say: "Get up and go forth from this place." Full of fear, they informed the patriarch of what they had seen, who consulted with the Rabbi Abraham. The latter told the patriarch that the workmen had discovered the sepulchres of David and the Kings of Judah. The patriarch thereupon ordered the cave to be securely walled up so as to hide it from everyone. Benjamin says that he heard the story from the Rabbi Abraham himself.

Whatever the truth of the tale may have been, there can be no doubt that the tradition remains to the present day that the sepulchres of David and Solomon are on Mount Sion, but no attempt ever seems to have been made to investigate the matter further. But it is possible that the story, which is believed by the Mohamedans, led to the expulsion of the Christians from the Coenaeulum by Sultan Soliman II in A.D. 1551.

During the Christian occupation there were many churches built in Jerusalem; among them was the Church of St. James, first mentioned by John of Würzburg (A.D. 1160), which stood where the present Armenian convent of St. James is now. This may be on the site of the original Church of Sion which, according to Antoninus (see p. 207), was the House of St. James. It is approximately in the right position, but this is a point on which one cannot speak certainly.

John of Würzburg describes the building known as the House of Caiaphas, but, rather curiously, calls it the Praetorium of Pilate. Of it he says<sup>1</sup>:

"Our Lord was betrayed, as we have said, by His Disciple, was taken and bound by a Roman soldier, and brought to Mount Sion, where at that time stood the Praetorium, or Judgment Hall of Pilate, which was called the Pavement, in Hebrew *Gabbatha* . . . . At that time, close to the Judgment Hall on the south side, stood the great building wherein the Lord supped with his Disciples."

Theodorich, writing in A.D. 1172, also calls the House of

<sup>1</sup> See *Palestine Pilgrims' Texts*, Vol. V. "John of Würzburg," p. 28.

Caiaphas the Praetorium of Pilate, which he describes in the following words<sup>1</sup> :—

“ After he had asked Him many questions, Pilate caused Him to be led to the Judgment Hall, and sat down, by way of a Judgment Seat, in the place which is called the Pavement, which place is situated in front of the Church of St. Mary, on Mount Sion, in a high place near the city wall.”

It looks as if this was a reversion to the original tradition that the Praetorium of Pilate was in the south part of Jerusalem, as shown to Theodosius and Theodorus in the sixth century, at the Church of St. Sophia (No. 6 on Plan 1). It would be interesting to know what was the foundation for the idea that the Praetorium was in this part of the city, for, if it were true, it would throw a new light on the possible site of the Crucifixion. But the question is one that does not directly concern the subject of the present article.

In an interesting twelfth century map of Jerusalem, of which a facsimile is given in Plan 3, the great Church of Sion is clearly shown outside the wall of the city to the south, and in exactly the same position as in the Madaba Mosaic, Plan 2. The large church inside the wall of Sion, marked *ecclesia latyna*, is evidently the Church of St. James, already referred to. The arcaded street, leading from St. Stephen’s Gate (the present Damascus Gate) in the north to the Sion Gate, *porta Sion australis*, on the south, agrees with the main central street in the Madaba Mosaic.

In A.D. 1187 Saladin captured Jerusalem; the Dome of the Rock and the Mosque of Aksa were of course seized by the Mohamedans, but the Holy Sepulchre was left to the Christians. The Church of St. Mary on Sion was partially destroyed a few years later, but some of the chapels seem to have been left standing. The author of the tract known as *The City of Jerusalem*, written not long after the Mahomedans had taken possession of the city, described Sion in the following words<sup>2</sup> :—

“ Towards the south, above the city of Jerusalem, is Mount Sion. There was the great church, which is thrown down, where Our Lady died, and thence the apostles bore her to Jehoshaphat;

<sup>1</sup> See *Palestine Pilgrims’ Texts*, Vol. V. “Thodorich,” p. 41.

<sup>2</sup> See *Palestine Pilgrims’ Texts*, Vol. VI. “The City of Jerusalem,” p. 38.

" and before it is a chapel where our Lord was judged, beaten, and tormented ; yea, with thorns tormented and crowned. This was the Praetorium of Caiaphas and his house. Under the great church, which is overthrown, is the chapel of the Holy Ghost : there the Holy Ghost descended on the Apostles. There is the place where our Lord washed the feet of His Apostles : the trough is still there. There God entered, the doors being closed, and said to them : '*Pax vobis.*' Then said He to St. Thomas : ' Put forth thy hand and thy finger, and be not unbelieving.' On Mount Sion Solomon was anointed."

The Sultan el-Kamil Mohamed, of Egypt, surrendered Jerusalem to the Emperor Frederick II in A.D. 1229, and the Christians held it until A.D. 1244, when the Kharazmians invaded Palestine and drove them out of the city, which, since that time, has never been in Christian possession, and the Church of St. Mary on Sion was never rebuilt, but the traditional sites continued to be shown to pilgrims who visited Jerusalem by the permission of the Mohamedans, and there was little change in them, although from time to time new holy places were added ; but, as these have no historical value, it is unnecessary to describe them in detail.

Two of the best and fullest of these accounts are those by John Poloner (A.D. 1421), and Felix Fabri (A.D. 1483).<sup>1</sup> These are well worth careful perusal, but are far too long to quote *in extenso*. It is, however, worth mentioning that both of them were shown an entirely new site : the House of Annas the High Priest, situated in the Convent of the Olive Tree (No. 3 on Plan 1), between the Church of St. James and the House of Caiaphas. Although the tradition connected with this site is so comparatively recent, the place is now shown to pilgrims as the authentic House of Annas.

Felix Fabri found the south wall of Jerusalem in ruins, and the Church of St. Mary was also in ruins ; of the latter he says :—

" In this place we stood for a good while and mourned over the ruins, and looked round us with sorrow at the scattered stones of the sanctuary. Here once stood an exceeding great church, whereof there is nothing left save the part which once joined that great church on the right-hand side, which part, at the present day, is the choir and church of the brethren, as I said before ; the head of the choir also remains, with the east window, and with its half broken vault, which threatens to fall in."

<sup>1</sup> See *Palestine Pilgrims' Texts*, Vols. VI-X.

It is satisfactory that Fabri visited Jerusalem when he did and left so accurate a description of all he saw, as he is the last pilgrim upon whom we have to rely, before the Turks under Sultan Selim I invaded Syria in 1517, and took possession of Jerusalem. In 1540 Sultan Suliman II rebuilt the walls as we see them at the present day. The old Sion Gate, at the end of the central street of Jerusalem, was closed up, and the existing Sion Gate, or, as it is called by the Mohamedans, the Gate of the Prophet David, was built, not far from the House of Caiaphas. The treatment of the Christians became much harsher, and, notwithstanding great exertions on the part of the French Ambassador at Constantinople, the monks were expelled altogether from the Coenaculum in 1551, and no Christian was allowed to enter it for a very long period.

Maundrill, who visited Jerusalem, in 1697, says:—

“ A little farther without the gate is the Church of the Coenaculum, where they say Christ instituted His Last Supper. It is now a mosque, and not to be seen by Christians.”

During the last century the rule has been somewhat relaxed, and Christians are permitted to see the upper room, known as the chamber of the Coenaculum, but they are not allowed to kneel or to pray openly.

Having thus given a short *r  sum * of the history of the traditional sites on Sion, so far as it can be arrived at from the authentic evidence available, it is desirable to sum up the conclusions that may be drawn, which are as follows:—

There is nothing to show that any of the Christian sites now shown on Sion existed prior to the discovery of the Holy Sepulchre by order of the Emperor Constantine, in A.D. 326, nearly three hundred years after the Crucifixion.

The oldest site with a continuous history is the House of Caiaphas, which was pointed out to the Bordeaux Pilgrim in A.D. 333, apparently in the same place as that where it is shown at the present day.

The *old*, or “Mother Church” of Sion, described by a pilgrim for the first time about A.D. 385, was undoubtedly *within* the wall of the city, somewhere between the Tower of David and the House of Caiaphas, and *north* of the latter. The old church may possibly have stood on the site now occupied by the Convent of St. James, as it is called the House of St. James by Antoninus (A.D. 570), the last pilgrim who mentions it. This site (No. 2 on Plan 1), is in accord with the description of the early pilgrims.

The *new* Church of Sion was the church built by the Emperor Justinian in the middle of the sixth century, and dedicated to the Virgin Mary. It stood *outside* the wall of the city and south of the House of Caiaphas, at the place now occupied by the building known as the Coenaculum (Site No. 5 on Plan 1). This church is mentioned for the first time by Antoninus, who visited Jerusalem shortly after it was built, and who is the only pilgrim to mention both the old and new churches on Sion.

After the new church was built, the holy places which had formerly been shown in the old church, were transferred to it, and the old church was gradually forgotten.

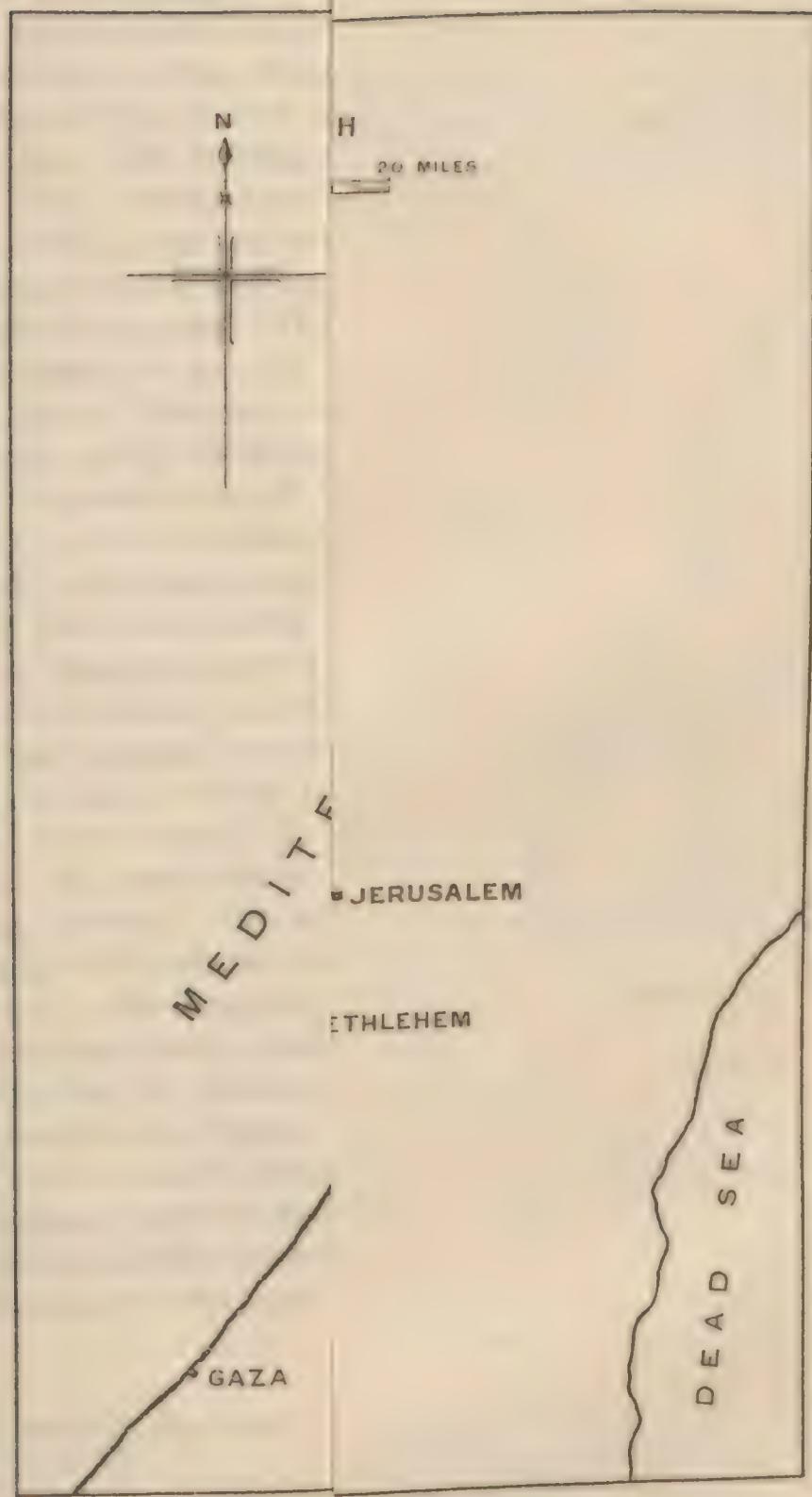
From time to time other holy places were transferred to the Church of St. Mary on Sion, as, for example, the place of the Last Supper, and the place of washing the feet of the Apostles, which were so transferred after the Church of St. Mary, in the valley of the Cedron, was destroyed by the Persians in A.D. 614.

If it is allowed that there were two churches of Sion, the old church inside the wall up to the time of Justinian, and the new church outside the wall after Justinian, then the accounts given by all the pilgrims are intelligible. If not, then it appears impossible to reconcile the accounts of the early and the later pilgrims.

## THE PROPOSED EXCAVATION OF BETH-SHEMESH. NOTES ON THE SITE AND ITS ENVIRONS.

By STANLEY A. COOK, M.A.

BETH-SHEMESH, "house of Shemesh (the sun)," the site which the *Palestine Exploration Fund* is about to excavate, lies about 19 miles east of Azotus (Ashdod), 16 miles west of Jerusalem, and 6 miles south-west of the now famous Gezer. The name is found also in the north, as that of a city on the border of Naphtali (Josh. xix, 38; Judg. i, 33), and also—unless the two are identical—as that of a city ascribed to Issachar (Josh. xix, 22). In Jer. xlvi, 13, allusion is made to the pillars or obelisks of the Egyptian Beth-Shemesh, the renowned sun-temple of On, or Heliopolis, about 6 miles north-east of Cairo. Since it has been suggested that this great centre of the



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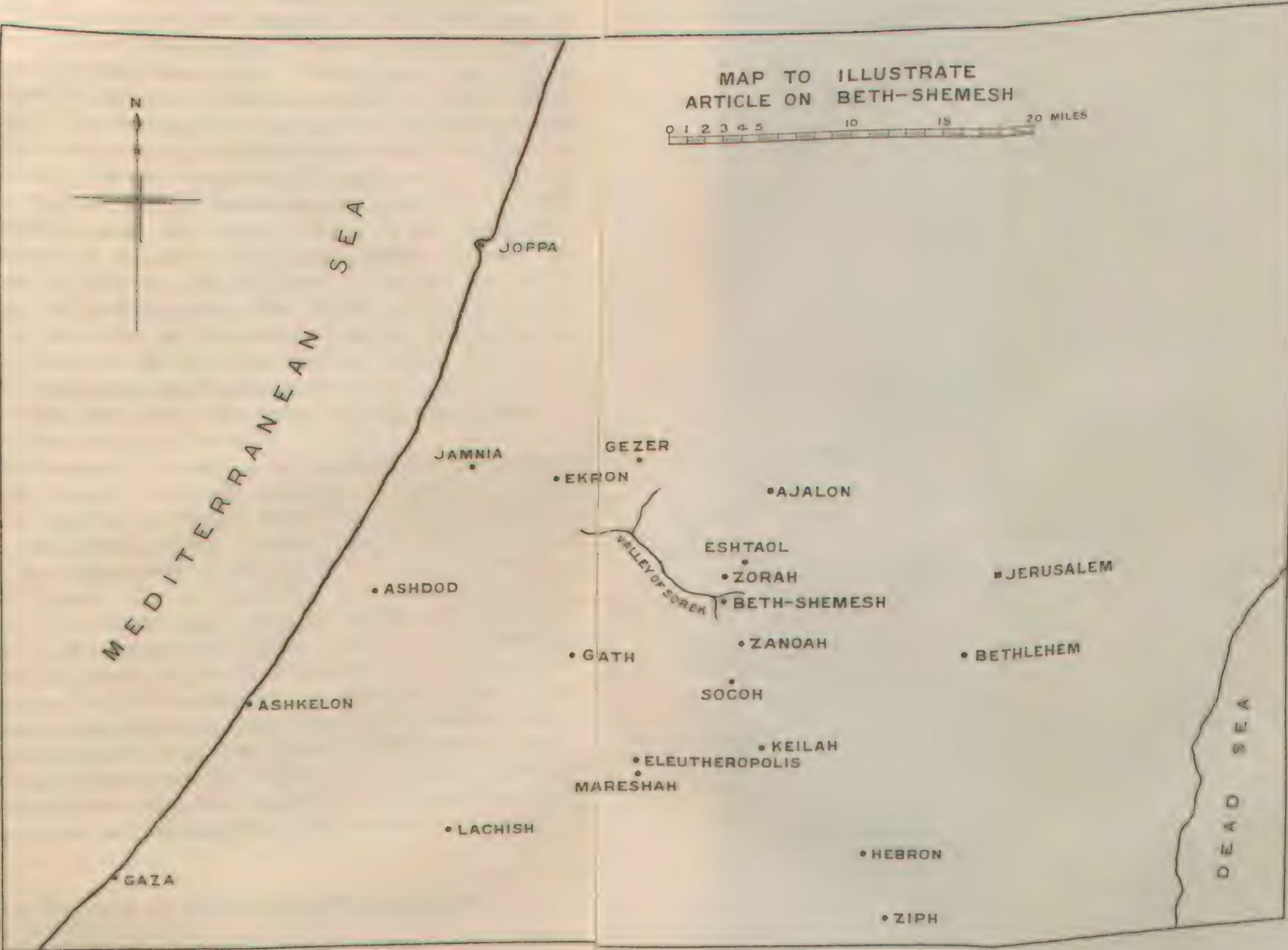
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sun-cult in Egypt was of Semitic or Asiatic origin, it is appropriate to notice the sun-temple of Abu Ghuraib (of the VIth dynasty) which, in turn, hints at foreign usage.<sup>1</sup> Here was found in 1900 an artificial mound on the eastern side of which was a great court. "On the mound was erected a truncated obelisk, the stone emblem of the sun-god. The worshippers in the court below looked towards the sun's stone erected upon its mound in the west, the quarter of the sun's setting; for the sun-god of Heliopolis was primarily the setting sun, Tum-Rā, not Rā Harmachis, the rising sun . . . which looks towards the east. The sacred emblem of the Heliopolitan sun-god reminds us forcibly of the Semitic *bethels* or *baetyli*, the sacred stones of Palestine, and may give yet another hint of the Semitic origin of the Heliopolitan cult. In the court of the temple is a huge circular altar of fine alabaster, several feet across, on which slain oxen were offered to the sun, and behind this, at the eastern end of the court, are six great basins of the same stone, over which the beasts were slain, with drains running out of them by which their blood was carried away."<sup>2</sup>

Our Beth-Shemesh is located on the border of Judah—although Eusebius and Jerome erroneously ascribe it to Benjamin—and is doubtless the same as the Danite border-city Ir-Shemesh which is mentioned with Eshtaol, Zorah, Aijalon, Timnah, Ekron, Eltekeh, Gibbethon, etc., names with whose history it is closely bound up (Josh. xix, 41–44).<sup>3</sup> The old name still survives in the modern "In Shems," "Well of the Sun," which is also the name given by Arab writers to the Egyptian Heliopolis. Robinson found here the ruins of a modern Arab village of moderate size with a sacred tomb, which, according to Clermont-Ganneau (*Archaeological Researches*), is the sanctuary of Abu Meizar, brother of the Sheikh es-Sāmet, whose shrine is at the neighbouring *Sar'a* (Zorah). These remains are all built of ancient material and lie to the east of a former extensive site, of which Robinson observes: "enough yet remains to make it one of the largest and most marked sites which we had anywhere seen."<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> King and Hall, *Egypt and Western Asia* (1907), pp. 40, 44, 102.

<sup>2</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 103.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. 1 Kings iv, 9, where one of the divisions of the kingdom includes Beth-Shemesh, Shaalbim (cf. Judg. i, 35, with Aijalon), Elon (Danite in Josh. xix, 43), and Beth-hanan (uncertain).

<sup>4</sup> *Biblical Researches* (1841), III, p. 17 *sq.*

The history of Beth-Shemesh is that of the territory lying between the Philistine maritime plain and the central table-land of Samaria and Judah.<sup>1</sup> It lies on one of the five important routes which connected the two. Starting with the south, we have first the route, well-known for the fortress of Tell el-Hesy (Lachish), which runs from between Gaza and Ashkelon to the south-west of Hebron. Next, comes the course from Ashdod to Hebron, with Beit Jibrin (Eleutheropolis) and the near-lying Mareshah or Marissa. After this we meet the Wady es-Sunt, the road marked by Tell es-Safiyeh (probably Gath) and Keilah. Passing over for a moment the fourth, we reach the road from Aijalon, which lies open to the roads from the north, and leads to Gezer and Gibeon. ‘Ain Shems is situated on the fourth, the Wady es-Surar, or Vale of Sorek, a good route from Ekron, Jaimia (Jabneh), and perhaps Ashdod, to Jerusalem. It is one of the most convenient of approaches, and the importance of the position can be best described in the words of Dr. George Adam Smith: “Just before the Wady es-Surar approaches the Judaean range, its width is increased by the entrance of the Wady Ghurab from the north-west, and by the Wady en-Najil from the south. A great basin is thus formed with the low hill of Artuf, and its village in the centre. Sura<sup>2</sup>, the ancient Zorah, and Eshtua<sup>3</sup>, perhaps Eshtaol, lie on the slopes to the north; ‘Ain Shems, in all probability Beth-Shemesh, lies on the southern slope opposite Zorah. When you see this basin, you at once perceive its importance. Fertile and well-watered—a broad brook runs through it, with tributary streamlets—it lies immediately under the Judaean range, and at the head of a valley passing down to Philistia, while at right angles to this it is crossed by the great line of trench which separates the Shephelah from Judaea. Roads diverge from it in all directions. Two ascend the Judaean plateau by narrow defiles from the Wady en-Najil, another and greater defile, still under the name Wady es-Surar, runs up east to the plateau next Jerusalem, and others north-east into the rough hills known to the Old Testament as Mount Jearim, while the road from Beit-Jibrin comes down the Wady en-Najil, and continues by a broad and easy pass to Amwas and the Vale of Aijalon. As a centre, then, between the southern and northern valleys of the Shephelah, and between Judaea and Philistia, this basin was sure to become important. Immediately

<sup>1</sup> See the admirable description by G. A. Smith, *Historical Geography of the Holy Land*, chaps. ix and x; also p. 182 above.

under the central range, it was generally held by Israel, who could swiftly pour down upon it by five or six different defiles. It was also open to Philistia, and had easy passage to the Vale of Aijalon, whose towns are often classed with its own."<sup>1</sup>

Beth-Shemesh, lying about midway between the Mediterranean and Jerusalem, and off the main road running from north to south by the coast, was involved in all the political vicissitudes affecting the relations of Judah with its immediate neighbours. Although it is not mentioned in early historical records there can be little doubt that in general its career was very much the same as that of Lachish, Gath, and Gezer. That is to say, the district was, if not under Egyptian supremacy, at least fully exposed to Egyptian influence to the XIth and XIIth dynasties; at the Hyksos invasion (perhaps about 1700 B.C.) the political bond would be broken; and with the XVIIIth dynasty (*circa* 1580 B.C.), when Egypt once more pressed into Palestine and Syria, making the lands virtually an Egyptian province, it changed masters. Whoever the Hyksos may have been, it appears that the great states of Hittite connexion in the far north had exerted their sway, certainly as far south as Jerusalem, and when we reach the times of Amenhotep III and IV (*circa* 1410-1360 B.C.), the "Amarna letters" show that among the petty kings of Palestine there were some whose names clearly associate them with non-Semitic peoples of Asia Minor.<sup>2</sup> These letters make mention of Gezer, Kellah, Zamzah (Zum, ed. Knudtzon, no. 220), Aijalon, Zorah (Sarha, no. 273 *sq.*), Mambath (Dhorme compares Wady el Monah to the west and south of Ain Shems), and perhaps Tell e. Saliyah (Salama, no. 274).<sup>3</sup> The suggestion has indeed been made that Beth-Shemesh lies concealed in Bit Ninib (no. 290), Ninib being regarded as the morning sun.<sup>4</sup> This, the "Amarna" age, was one of heavy pressure by land and by sea from the north, and Palestine was rent by internal intrigues and rivalries. Apart from the important coast-towns (Gaza, Joppa, Sidon, Tyre, etc.), and the city of Jerusalem (the centre of the southern

<sup>1</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 219 *sq.*

<sup>2</sup> See, for a recent study of the evidence, Father Dhorme, *Revue Biblique*, 1908, October.

<sup>3</sup> Or, according to Clauss, Zeboim.

<sup>4</sup> Chayne (*Ency. Bibl.*, ed. 2010), identifying Har Heres (Judg. i. 34 *sq.*), "sun-mount," or rather city of H, (i.e. the Sun) with Beth-Shemesh, suggests that H-r-s represents Uraš, a synonym of Ninib. Dhorme, however, conjectures that Ninib is Anath, and thinks of Anathoth, north of Jerusalem.

district), the political movements were controlled by the great states in Syria. The king of Jerusalem reports the falling away of the land to the enemy whose movements are apparently directed from the west. Lachish, Ashkelon, and Gezer are denounced, and there is perhaps an allusion to the capture of Mareshah.<sup>1</sup> Keilah, a bone of contention between two rival kings, falls, and with it Bit-Ninib and Rubute (?) in the neighbourhood of Kirjath-jearim). A certain lady (Baalah-neshe ?) records that the "robbers" have laid hands upon Aijalon and Zorah, and mentions the fall of Gath (Sabuma), and Addu-dani tells of the loss of Manahath (no. 292), and an attack upon Gezer.

In these movements and counter-movements the *Habiru* (who are mentioned only in the Jerusalem letters) play a prominent part—corresponding to that of the enemy in the other letters. That they are to be identified with the "Hebrews" is a very popular view; one, however, which is far from certain: their steps do not accord with the Israelites who invaded Palestine under Joshua, and their name may mean nothing more than "allies."

Subsequent events show that Egypt had to retake Palestine, and its constant struggles with the Hittites form the natural sequel to the downward movements which the Amarna letters describe. It is uncertain whether the name *Shamashana* in the lists of Rameses II and III refer to Beth-Shemesh; it is, nevertheless, certain that, as Egypt succeeded in regaining Palestine, this district would be visited by the invading armies. Thus, for example, although Merenptah (*circa* 1244 B.C.) happens to record his victory over Ashkelon, Gezer, the people (or land) of Israel, etc., other places were naturally involved.

The general circumstances of the "Amarna" period throw valuable light upon the political, social, and religious conditions, which, it should be observed, are not radically different a few centuries later. Politically, the district lay exposed to influences from the maritime coast, to the traders from the Delta, from Phoenicia and from other parts of the Levant. At the same time the long enduring intercourse with Egypt and the wide-spread supremacy of early Babylonian kings, introduced other elements, with the result that it is very difficult to determine at every stage how much of the culture is indigenous and how much is due to external influence. The proximity of Egypt has shown itself

<sup>1</sup> No. 335, Dhorme, p. 515.

invariably in the course of excavation : in scarabs, figures of Egyptian deities, etc. ; while in the Amarna letters we find that Egyptian supremacy meant the recognition of the Egyptian national cult.<sup>1</sup> As regards Babylonia, opinion is at variance ; some writers finding evidence for a profound influence, others holding the opinion that this influence was more indirect, and was more immediately due to the political supremacy of North Syria and the Hittites, where again Babylonian influence may be recognized. As regards the Levant, the remarkable Aegean civilization naturally left its mark through traders, etc., and Aegean influence has been found in the pottery, in architectural details, and in other features. Nevertheless, in view of the position of Palestine between Egypt and the northern powers, it is always necessary to consider whether this Aegean influence in turn is not as much indirect as direct. In the time of Ramses III, when the Philistines are first mentioned, it is indeed natural to infer that these foreigners brought with them a foreign culture ; but one must not forget that then, as in the Amarna age, the movements with which they were associated were both by land and by sea, and that, since North Syria and Asia Minor had their own culture, a distinction must be made, where possible, between what is specifically Aegean and what is merely of northern origin.<sup>2</sup> Hence, all in all, in this cosmopolitan Palestine, exposed to so many external influences, and possessing, in the nature of things, *some* indigenous culture and thought, it is only too easy to be impressed by analogies and parallels which may be found now in Egypt, now in Babylonia, and now in the Aegean. Ancient Arabia, Syria, and the great Hittite kingdom all have claims to our consideration, and they are factors — even if little known ones — in the archaeological history of Palestine.

In continuing the history of this district, one must lament the paucity of external evidence which precludes the attempt to connect Palestine, the land which had been influenced politically by Egypt or by the Hittites, with the land which (towards the close of the eleventh century) possessed an independent monarchy, and, in

<sup>1</sup> See on this question the present writer's *Religion of Ancient Palestine*, pp. 74 *sqq.*

<sup>2</sup> In Cyprus, Aegean art appears to reach the island in a mature, not to say, decadent stage of its development (J. L. Myres, *Class. Rev.*, 1896, p. 352), and the same may possibly be true of Eastern Asia Minor (See Lehmann-Haupt, *Abhandlungen*, ix, 3, Berlin, 1907, p. 68).

place of its many deities, a national God. If the great movement which appears to have brought the Philistines (first part of the twelfth century) had widespread effects, Ramses III, at all events, to judge from the Papyrus Harris, regained his province, and the archaeological features do not at present suggest any fundamental change. Whatever the decay of Egypt may have meant for Palestine, the subsequent steps cannot be traced. One certainly gains the impression that Judah and Israel were in the hands of the Philistines, but this impression is gained by ignoring Biblical evidence which conflicts with this; and even if Saul, the first king of Israel, delivered the land from them the historical prelude to this cannot be traced. Nevertheless, the Biblical narratives clearly illustrate the significance of Beth Shemesh and its district for the history. Zorah and Eshtaol, associated with Danite families in Judg. xviii, are familiar in the stories of the heroic Samson, whose name points to the "Sun," and recalls the "House of the Sun" which lay across the Valley of Sorek. Among the narratives of Philistine and Israelite disputes, particular interest is attached to that of the return of the ark from Ashdod to Ekron, thence to Beth Shemesh and finally to Kirjath-jearim (1 Sam. vi-vii, 1). Here, with the help of the Septuagint, we can recover the story of the calamity which befell the sons of Jononiah who did not join with the people of Beth-Shemesh in welcoming the sacred ark, and it is to be presumed that the story hints at rival religious sects. Interesting also is the statement that the ark stopped in the field of one Joshua, and it seems that the narrator knew of a great stone which still stood as a witness to the event.

The Egyptian campaign, of which the capture of Gezer was an event (1 Kings, ix, 16), doubtless touched Beth Shemesh; and some decades later Sheshonk (Shishak) mentions, in the statement of his expedition, Socoh, Gibeon, and Aijalon. The Book of Chronicles records that Rehoboam fortified Zorah, Aijalon, Azekah, etc. (2 Chron. xi, 6 *sqq.*); but there is no evidence for associating this with Shishak's invasion. A little later we hear that the Israelites were laying siege to Gibbethon—one of the Danite cities (1 Kings, xv, 27; xvi, 15), and "since we find it still uncaptured twenty-four years later (xvi, 15), it must have played as great a part in the wars with the Philistines as Ramoth-Gilead afterwards did in those with Damascus."<sup>1</sup> The contemporary Judaean king was Asa, to

whose reign is ascribed a great invasion from the south, which was beaten back at Mareshah (2 Chron. xiv). Of Asa's dealings with the Philistines nothing is said.

In the subsequent reigns Beth-Shemesh is closely bound up with the interrelated political movements. Jehoshaphat's successful reign was followed by revolts, when his successor Jehoram suffered from both Edom and Philistia, and, according to 2 Chron. xxi, another invasion came from the south and swept upon Jerusalem. In the days of the dynasty of Jehu, when the Aramaeans oppressed Israel, Judah did not escape. In the time of Jehoash, Hazael of Syria marched against Gath (2 Kings, xii, 17), and apparently took the land of the Philistines (2 Kings, xiii, 22, Lucian's recension). The Israelite king Jehoash defeated the Aramaeans, and his contemporary Amaziah of Judah conquered Edom and perhaps also Philistia. At all events when Jehoash came against Judah, the armies met at Beth-Shemesh (2 Kings, xiv, 13), and this suggests that Amaziah had extended his sway westwards. The defeat of Amaziah was followed by the sack of Jerusalem, and there is some lacuna in the history.

Both Uzziah and Jotham appear to have held the district, and in the time of Ahaz we find a great confederation against Judah, Syria and Israel (2 Kings, xvi, 5) pressed in the north; Edom recovered its port Elath (verse 6, see the commentaries); and it accords with this that the Philistines invaded the Shephelah and took Beth-Shemesh, Aijalon, and other cities (2 Chron. xxviii, 18). There follows a period of keen Assyrian and anti-Assyrian factions. Assyrian armies march down to Gaza (734 B.C.), and again to Raphia on the border of Egypt (720 B.C.); a few years later Ashdod and Gath are visited. Finally, in 701 B.C., Sennacherib, after defeating the allies at Eltekeh, overthrew Joppa, Bene-berak, Ekron, Ashkelon, Lachish, etc., and turned against Hezekiah at Jerusalem. The western Judaean cities were divided off to Ekron, Ashdod, and Gaza, and consequently it is probable that Beth-Shemesh once more passed into the hands of the Philistines. This was the age of the Assyrian domination, the spread of Assyrian cults and ideas, and, to judge from the cuneiform tablets at Gezer, it probably meant the presence of Assyrian garrisons. Little historical information has survived. The Scythian invasion, the sack of Ashkelon, and the siege of Ashdod by Psammetik, suggest that henceforth one must rely upon the evidence for the greater political vicissitudes affecting

the district of which Beth-Shemesh formed part. Egypt, as we know, sought to take advantage of the growing decay of Assyria, and by defeating Josiah at Megiddo once more seemed likely to gain Palestine and Assyria; but the battle of Carchemish (605 B.C.) made Babylonia the possessor of the empire which Assyria had possessed, and Nabonidus (*circa* 555 B.C.) claims his vassals as far as Gaza.

In these vicissitudes Beth-Shemesh lay in a district which, apart from external forms of cult and culture, shared the same general characteristics. In the Old Testament, for example, the Philistines appear before us as a Semitic—an Oriental—folk, and although the popular stories chiefly represent contempt and hatred for these uncircumcised people, there are also stories of alliance and covenant, and the events of the latter part of the eighth century show very clearly that there was then no feeling of exclusiveness. Exposed as the maritime coast was to the sea traders, there was, no doubt, a constant infiltration of foreign elements, the presence of which will not necessarily be due to the Philistines of some centuries previously, while the use which Psammetik made of mercenaries from Asia Minor, etc., towards the close of the seventh century, probably caused a more distinct imprint—the presence of Carians at Jerusalem in the royal bodyguard being a case in point.<sup>1</sup>

The fall of Jerusalem (586 B.C.) and the Exile, although of profound religious and political importance for the Jews, scarcely meant a complete reversal of conditions. Even on a liberal estimate it is clear "that a large majority of the Jewish people remained on their land. This conclusion may startle us, with our generally received notions of the whole nation as exiled. But there are facts which support it . . . upon a much diminished territory some scores of thousands of Jews remained in Judah through all the period of the Exile."<sup>2</sup> There was a pressure from all around, and Calebite and related groups of half-Edomite affinity who had been settled around Hebron, are now found about Kirjath-jearim, Bethlehem, and Beth-gader, with families at Zorah and Eshtaol (1 Chron. ii).<sup>3</sup> Their presence can be traced in Jerusalem and in

<sup>1</sup> They are mentioned in the narratives of the time of David (2 Sam. xx, 23, marg.) and Joash (2 Kings, xi, 4, 19), and their exclusion from the Temple of Jerusalem would date from Ezekiel (xliv, 7-9).

<sup>2</sup> G. A. Smith, *Jerusalem*, II, 269.

<sup>3</sup> See, e.g., W. R. Harvey-Jellie, *Century Bible*, ad loc.

the neighbourhood more than a century later, in the time of Nehemiah.<sup>1</sup> Meanwhile, with the conquest of Babylon by Cyrus, the whole of the Babylonian empire passed over into the hands of the Persians, who for a time at least appear to have treated Palestine with sympathy. In this Persian age there is reason to infer that we should place the inscribed pottery-stamps.<sup>2</sup> The mixed character of the culture of this period may be illustrated by the Babylonian-Assyrian elements at Teima in North Arabia, where an Aramaic inscription, probably of the fifth century, names as priest Salm-shezeb (an Aramaic name), son of Pet-osiris (Egyptian), and represents the god and his minister in Assyrian style. Also in Egypt, as one may see from the Jewish papyri recently discovered at Elephantine, Jewish, Persian, Egyptian, and Babylonian names intermingle, and the business methods are associated with Babylonian-Assyrian usage.<sup>3</sup> In so far as history is concerned, one is left to inferences from the political movements of Egypt and Phoenicia, and consequently when in the fourth century Egypt invaded Palestine, and Artaxerxes Ochus avenged himself upon the provinces which revolted, it is to be supposed that Egyptian and Persian armies alternately left their influence upon Judaea.

Although Greek influence began to make itself felt on the coast before the time of Alexander the Great (332 B.C.), it is uncertain whether it would be at all deep in the more inland districts until well on in the Greek age. As in the past, the maritime coast and Palestine itself was a bone of contention between Egypt and Syria. Antiochus IV Epiphanes endeavoured to unify his kingdom and extinguish Judaism, and in the ensuing wars Philistia was the base from which Lysias conducted war against Judaea. Here men of the land of the Philistines took part against the Jews, and some idea of the former limited extent of Jewish territory can be gained from the account of the victorious campaigns of Judas against Hebron, and, by way of Mareshah (1 Macc. v, 66, so the old Latin

<sup>1</sup> Eduard Meyer, *Entstehung des Judenthums* (1896), pp. 119, 147, 167, 177, 183 note 1.

<sup>2</sup> Q.S., 1909, October, pp. 290 sqq., cf. E. J. Pilcher, *Proceedings of Society of Biblical Archaeology*, 1910, pp. 93-101, 143-152, and the remarks in this issue, pp. 232-234 below.

<sup>3</sup> Again at Tell-Defenneh was found a god (of heaven, a kind of Zeus-Marduk) in Asiatic costume, with high mitre and Egyptian sceptre, standing on a lion. What is not Egyptian seems to show Babylonian-Assyrian style (W. M. Müller, *Egyptian Researches*, 1904, pp. 30 sqq., and Plate XL).

and Josephus), into Philistine territory, where he ravaged Ashdod and other cities. These successes were followed up by the other Maccabaeans (Jonathan and Simeon), and, after a repulse by Antiochus VI (135 B.C.), by Alexander Jannaeus. This extended Jewish supremacy to the maritime coast.

We now reach the age of the intervention of the Romans. Pompey, after taking Jerusalem, restored Mareshah, Ashdod, and Jamnia "to their own inhabitants" (62 B.C.). A few years later the Parthians invaded Palestine, capturing and destroying Mareshah. In 30 B.C. the Idumaean Herod received from Augustus (who was then in Egypt) the coast towns, thus enlarging the Judaean kingdom to its earlier limits. This age, with its very close relations between the Jews, the Philistine coast, and the Idumaeans of the south was also one when, through Herod's Hellenistic sympathies, Greek civilization became part of Jewish life. A striking example of the internal culture is afforded by the tombs at Mareshah, where Greek, Phoenician and Idumaean names are borne by families whose art is Egypto-Phoenician, and whose language is Greek.<sup>1</sup> The Idumaeans, it appears, did not abandon their own rites, and not until the next century can they be said to become an integral portion of the Jewish people. During the Roman period proper, the political government was Roman; so much so that under Caracalla (A.D. 198-217) all the subjects of the Roman empire enjoyed the civil rights of the *Cives Romani*. The internal culture was Hellenistic, and Judaism, after the fall of Jerusalem, centred at Jabneh, about 17 miles north-west of Beth-Shemesh.<sup>2</sup>

Christian influence at any early date spread into the Shephelah district,<sup>3</sup> while monks and hermits brought up from Egypt the habits of the ascetic life. In the times of persecution "we can understand," writes Dr. Smith, "how easily this land of caves, where David and his men had hid themselves from Saul, would be used by Christian fugitives from the Greek cities of the coast." The history of the district during the centuries previous to the Mohammedan invasion (A.D. 634) lies scattered in Christian sources

<sup>1</sup> J. P. Peters and H. Thiersch, *Painted Tombs in the Necropolis of Marissa*, (P.E.F., 1905).

<sup>2</sup> Bether, or Bethar, which played an important part in the Bar-Kokeba revolt, and which the Romans besieged for over three years (A.D. 136), has been placed at Bittir, about ten miles east of Beth-Shemesh.

<sup>3</sup> See G. A. Smith, *Hist. Geog.*, pp. 240 sqq.

and in the numerous epigraphical remains, and presents a confused picture of Christian conflicts with Greek and indigenous heathenism, of Roman organization, and of the continued advances of the Arabs, who had regularly been in contact with the famous port of Gaza.<sup>1</sup> After falling into the hands of the Persian Chosroes for a few years (A.D. 611-4), Palestine was retaken by the Byzantines, but with the capture of Gaza in A.D. 634 by 'Amr ibn el-Ās, the era of Mohammedanism begins.

Henceforth, if we make an exception of the Crusading period, the history of the district is influenced by Oriental movements, and the inveterate characteristics of custom and thought which had undergone such manifold developments in the course of centuries, now display themselves below a veneer of Christianity and Mohammedanism. Thus, the history of the district of Beth-Shemesh, like that of Palestine itself, becomes the more profound when it is viewed in the light of modern knowledge of the vicissitudes and the fate of the old Oriental world. Looking back upon past millennia, we see constant waves from the south (Arabia and Egypt) and from the north (Hittites, Assyria, etc.); an intermingling of political and cultural influences, and a persistence—as excavation has shown—of the old semi-heathenism. The growing decay of the controlling empires of Assyria and Egypt paved the way for a greater extent of internal independence in Palestine, and the steps lead on through the reforming ideals of the Old Testament to the growth of Christianity. As these leave the land of their birth, the land becomes once more "primitive," illustrating in a variety of forms those foundations upon which ancient life and thought had been erected.

<sup>1</sup> M. A. Meyer, *History of the City of Gaza* (New York, 1907).

THE PERSIAN AND EGYPTIAN AFFINITIES OF THE  
JEWISH ROYAL POTTERY STAMPS.

By F. W. READ.

In a paper recently read before the Society of Biblical Archaeology, Mr. E. J. Pilcher has contended that the available evidence tends to show that the Jewish Royal Pottery Stamps belong to the Persian Period of history.<sup>1</sup> It will be remembered that these stamps occur with two distinct devices upon them. One device is that of a two-winged object, which Mr. Pilcher identifies with the "winged disk of Ormuzd." The other is a four-winged object, which is generally recognized as being a scarabeus. The contention, therefore, is that these devices symbolized the Persian and Egyptian powers respectively, and were adopted as one or other got the upper hand in Palestine during the wars of the fourth century B.C.

At first sight it would not seem that there was any necessary connection between a winged disk and a flying scarabeus; but it appears from the sculptures of the Temple of Edfu that the disk and the scarabeus were closely associated in the Egyptian mind.<sup>2</sup> It is quite true that the Persian disk of Ormuzd was not the same thing as the winged disk of the Egyptians; but it is equally certain that in Egypt they were treated as being practically identical; and on the stele set up by Darius I at Shaluf the Persian disk is placed at the head, under the sign for heaven, precisely as if it were the winged disk of Horus-Hedit that is familiar to us from countless examples of Egyptian art.<sup>3</sup>

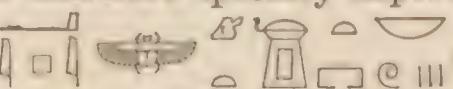
The Temple of Edfu was specially devoted to the cult of Horus-Hedit, that is to say, Horus symbolized under the form of the winged disk; and it is interesting to observe the ample evidence

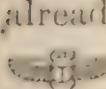
<sup>1</sup> "The Jewish Royal Pottery Stamps." *Proc. Soc. Bib. Arch.*, Vol. XXXII, pp. 93 ff., 143 ff. (March, May, 1910). See S. A. Cook, *Q.S.*, 1909, pp. 291–294, 309.

<sup>2</sup> See "Le Temple d'Edfou," forming tomes X and XI of the *Mémoires de la Mission Archéologique Française au Caire*.

<sup>3</sup> *Recueil de Travaux*, IX, 145. Reproduced in Petrie, *History of Egypt*, Vol. III, p. 366.

that the deity was conceived under the form of a flying scarabeus as well. Thus we read of him as , "the august scarabeus," who is "like a hawk flying to heaven on the hands of the two sisters" (Isis and Nephthys),<sup>1</sup> and such quotations might be multiplied indefinitely; the "august scarabeus" being sometimes written with the determinative of the *winged* scarabeus .

The Egyptian winged disk is a familiar object over the entrances to temples and shrines; and it is therefore specially important to find the Edfu texts referring to , "the flying scarabeus presiding over every naos."<sup>2</sup> So that it is practically certain that the Ancient Egyptians regarded the winged disk and the flying scarabeus as identical.

In the passages cited, we meet with two Egyptian words , *heprer*, and , *api*. If the latter only were found, it might be argued that nothing more than "flier" is meant (from , "to fly"). But *heprer* is the ordinary word for a scarabeus; and thus its use places beyond all doubt that Horus-Hedit, the winged disk, the god of Edfu, could be conceived as a scarabeus. It may also be remarked that in one case at least, as already mentioned, the scribe has given *heprer* the determinative , which is the same as that of *api*. Furthermore, although the use of the flying scarabeus in place of the winged disk is by no means so common in the scenes as in the texts, it does occasionally occur in the scenes, as will be evident on comparing *Edfu*, I, 13*a*, with II, 40*e*.

It may be urged that the Temple of Edfu is of Ptolemaic date, and, therefore, is of little value as evidence for the period of the Persian wars. But, on the other hand, the texts themselves afford every evidence of having been copied from ancient originals: their arrangement and orthography are very correct, and they are largely free from the blemishes and corruptions that are characteristic of the late Egyptian inscriptions; in fact they must date from the classic

<sup>1</sup> *Edfu*, I, 128.

<sup>2</sup> *Edfu*, II, 18.

<sup>3</sup> *Edfu*, II, 19. The same text is given by Piehl, who translates "le scarabée volant qui préside à tous les temples." (*Inscriptions Hiéroglyphiques, Seconde Série*, II, 58.)

period of Egyptian literature. Quite apart from this, however, there is actually preserved in the temple a naos dedicated by Nectanebus I (*circa* 378 to 361 B.C.), and among the inscriptions upon it is one of the phrases already quoted,<sup>1</sup> so that we are taken back into the very period with which we are dealing, *i.e.*, the fourth century B.C.

If, therefore, the Persian disk of Ormuzd tended under Egyptian influence to become identified with the winged disk of Egypt, which in its turn could be interchanged with the flying scarabaeus, we have an association of symbols which is exactly in accord with the appearance of the two alternate devices on the Jewish Pottery Stamps; and this should be additional evidence that the pottery stamps themselves must be assigned to the period of history that is marked by the conflict between Egypt and Persia.

#### NEW BOOKS AND PERIODICALS.

M. Edgar de Knecht, of Brussels, in the *Expository Times* for May, gives a short *résumé* of Dr. Sellin's excavations at Jericho on the basis of fuller report than those utilized in the article in the January Q.S. It appears that the large egg-shaped wall was the outer defence, and that there was an inner wall resembling a sugar-loaf, of which the rounded top pointed southwards. The pottery still continued to show Mediterranean and Egyptian rather than Babylonian influence. Further excavation also proved that the site was not deserted between its destruction by the Israelites and its rebuilding by Hiel. "The trenches dug last year... show that there was an uninterrupted occupation of the *Tell* from the Canaanite period" (p. 355). This information is gratifying in view of the great gap which had formerly been presumed. The difficulties which the earlier assumption of the excavators had raised (see Q.S., 1910, p. 63 *sq.*) were worth pointing out— even though one critic seems to have thought that any discussion previous to the publication of the complete report was premature—and it is satisfactory to find that the archaeological evidence now proves to be more in harmony with the historical data. It is interesting to learn that infant jar-burials were found under several of the houses, even in the late post-Exilic age, and the discovery is "particularly instructive for the history of popular religious practices after the Exile." We regret to hear that Dr. Sellin has decided to close the excavations.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Edfu*, II, 19, and I, 10.

In the April number of the *Expository Times*, Dr. Rendel Harris contributes, under the arresting title, "Crete, the Jordan, and the Rhône," a stimulating little article on the recurrence of similar place-names from Gaul to Palestine. Jordan is found, as the name of a river, in Western Crete, in Elys and Lydia, and, so it is supposed, underlies Vardon, the name of the two tributaries of the Rhône. Dr. Harris notes that Fick has recently suggested that the civilization of the Rhône valley was due, in the first instance, to Cretans, and various points of evidence are brought together to suggest that there was a wide-spread influence of Crete, the ultimate source of which may be Asia Minor. "There is nothing to prevent the assignment of all the Jordan rivers of Crete, Asia Minor, Sarmatia, and Palestine to a Hittite nomenclature, if other evidence should point that way." The whole subject is, of course, quite in the early stage of speculation, but it is interesting to observe that so well-informed a historian as Eduard Meyer does not hesitate to treat "Jordan" and other words as apparently of Asia Minor (*kleinasienisch*) ancestry, and very distinctly recognizes prehistoric movements extending over Eastern Europe and Western Asia (*Gesch. des Alterthums*, Vol. I. 1909, §§ 476, 592 *sqq.*).

In the *American Journal of Archaeology*, January-March, 1910, Prof. Nathaniel Schmidt gives an account of Greek inscriptions found around Ruhébeh (Rehoboth) and Beersheba in June, 1905, and translated by Mr. D. B. Charles. They are mainly funeral, and of the fifth and sixth centuries, A.D., and include among the names Maria, Anna, Charitos, Stephen, Victor, Azone, Abraham, Sergius, Anastasia, etc., and the more rare Zonaios, Thalimos, Andereos, Alaphir, Sioud. Of greatest interest is an inscription found at Beersheba, the interpretation of which offers many difficulties. We transcribe Mr. Charles' text:—

'Οφθαλμοὶ, τί τὸ θαῦμα; πότ' ἐνθάδε κόσμος ἐτύχθη;  
Τίς βροτὸς ηὗρα τὸ κάλλος ὃ μὴ πάρος ἄσπετος αἰών;  
Ἀντίπατρος τάδ' ἔτυξε καὶ Οὐρανὸν ἡλαθὶ δεῖξεν,  
Ἡνία χέρσιν ἔχων ἀρητιφίδων στρατιάων.

The meaning of those four lines of hexameter verse is discussed. The inscription, it is suggested, may date as early as the first century B.C., and may refer to the Herodian Antipater; but, on other grounds, a date in the middle of the fifth century A.D. is held to be preferable.

Several variant translations are suggested, all agreeing that attention is drawn to some marvel (*θαῦμα*), some object of beauty (*κάλλος*), which had never been seen in endless ages or by the wide world (*ἄσπετος αἰών*).

Some notable monument (*κέρμα*) is in view, or some representation of the universe. This lies hidden in the last two lines, where the reference is to Antipater (*ὁ*) holding in his hands the reins of the martial ("dear to Mars") soldiers. Antipater is the maker of the masterpiece, but it is not clear whether he holds the reins or whether the reference is to

Uranus as the heavenly god driving his war-chariot. The interpretation of the last words of the third line is the crux. The suggestions are : "Antipater . . . (be gracious, O deified hero!) pointed the way to heaven, holding, etc." ; or, "Antipater . . . showed how Uranus (gracious be he !) holds, etc." ; or, "Antipater . . . holding in his hands—pointed (oh, be gracious !) to heaven." It is most remarkable that the opening words of the inscription find parallels in the fifth century Nonnus (*I*, 93, xlviii, 602).

In *The Biblical World* (February, 1910), Dr. Luckenbill, of Chicago, continues his survey of the excavations in Palestine. After pointing out that "there is absolutely no room for the centuries of Babylonian over-lordship in Palestine assumed by the pan-Babylonians for the period before Egyptian influence began" (p. 97), he turns to the Amarna period (*circa* 1400 B.C.) when Babylonian appears before us as the diplomatic language of the Oriental world. He argues that it was through Hittite or Mitannian influence that Babylonian was used in Palestine ; and he points out the evidence for genuine Hittite (or related names) in the Amarna letters from the Palestinian kings.<sup>1</sup> In proceeding (in the May number) to the early religion of Palestine, he discusses first the dolmens, rock-altars, funeral rites, and he agrees that the burial of infants near sacred sites may point to the belief in the re-birth or re-incarnation of the soul.<sup>2</sup> He divides the deities of Palestine into three classes, those of the underworld, the earth, and the sky, or heaven, and describes lucidly and in an interesting manner the available evidence for the old places of cult.

*The Babylonian Expedition of the University of Pennsylvania*, Vol. V, fasc. 1, has attracted wide-spread notice for the account of the Babylonian Deluge Story which Prof. Hilprecht here edits and discusses. It is a fragmentary tablet, the date of which he ascribes to about 2100 B.C., and its interest lies in his opinion that, "in its preserved portion it shows a much greater resemblance to the Biblical Deluge Story than any other fragment yet published." It is commented upon by Dr. Pinches and Prof. Hommel in the *Expository Times* (May), and by Prof. J. M. P. Smith in the *Biblical World* (April). The chief points that emerge are : (1) the increasing evidence for the existence of varying recensions of the Story of the Deluge in Babylonia ; (2) the strong doubt whether the tablet is not several centuries later than the date ascribed to it ; (3) the noteworthy use of different terms (e.g., for the ship, called here literally "great boat") ; and (4) "Prof. Hilprecht's statement that the new fragment 'agrees most remarkably with the Biblical story in very essential details,

<sup>1</sup> This suggestion regarding the *indirect* influence of Babylonia accords with the views suggested by myself in *Religion of Ancient Palestine*, p. 112.

<sup>2</sup> This by no means rare belief (see F. B. Jevons, *Introduction to the Study of Comparative Religion*, pp. 48-50, 59 sq.), is found in crude and in highly philosophical forms, and appears to explain certain features of later Hebrew or Jewish religion.

both as to contents and language' (p. 69), seems rather exaggerated," (*Biblical World*, p. 283). Nevertheless, the fragment is of very great interest, and as it belongs to a hoard of about 15,000, Prof. Hommel observes: "we may be prepared for many more similar surprises during the next ten years."

The *Hilprecht Anniversary Volume*,<sup>1</sup> dedicated to the well-known American Assyriologist Hermann V. Hilprecht, consists of thirty-two admirable articles by Assyriological and other scholars, in honour of the twenty-fifth anniversary of his doctorate. This country is represented by the Rev. C. J. Ball ("Semitic and Sumerian"); Dr. S. Daiches ("Balaam—a Babylonian bārū"); Dr. Pinches ("Some Mathematical Tablets of the British Museum"); and Prof. Sayce ("The Origin of the Greek Lamp"). There is much that bears directly or indirectly upon Palestinian research in its manifold aspects. Thus, the study of the Urim and Thummim, Ephod and Teraphim, by Dr. A. Jeremias, deals with oracular and other devices, and may be supplemented by the Babylonian parallels which Dr. Daiches finds in the story of Balaam. Prof. Kittel gives a very interesting study of the primitive Palestinian rock altars, dealing in turn with the remains at 'Arṭūf, Marnīta, Mizpah and Gibeon. Prof. Zimmern discusses the recently published Aramaic inscription of the defeat of Bar-hadad, king of Damascus, by the king of Hamath, and upholds the Assyrian form of the name Bir-idri by the fact that on the inscription the final *d* is longer than the usual, and could—as Prof. Lidzbarski allows—be read, *r.* Prof. Milani, in a lengthy discussion of symbols ("Sardorum sacra et sacrorum signa") includes evidence from Gezer among a mass of material (p. 327). Prof. Dhorme deals with the deity *Ninib*, the presence of whose cult in Palestine may be inferred from the place-name Beth-Ninib, near Jerusalem (about 1400 B.C.), and argues that it was a war-god, god of hunting, probably also identified with Orion.

In the *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins*, XXXIII, 2 and 3, Dr. H. W. Trusen contributes a careful study of the history of Gethsemane (pp. 57–97). He finds that, from the second half of the fourteenth century there has been a remarkable change in the identification of the site: the older tradition, that preserved among the Greeks, deserving the preference. In the modern "Garden of Gethsemane" there is, perhaps, no link with the Passion; the grotto near the Church of the Tomb of the Virgin is the old view, and the tradition which changed it into the *Antrum Agoniae* ("Cavern of the Agony") may be due to the Franciscans. Dr. Hölscher continues his remarks on the topography of Palestine, with a discussion of Shechem and its environs (pp. 98–110). Nablus, it was known, was not built on the site of the ancient Shechem, but to the west of it. Shechem lay near the modern village of Balāṭa,

<sup>1</sup> Luzac and Co., London, 1909.

and the modern "Grave of Joseph" preserves the old tradition of a sacred site. In ancient times there must have been a holy place associated with the tomb of Joseph, and a *mizbebah* was erected (so, underlying the text of Gen. xxviii, 20) by Jacob. It was otherwise associated with Joshua (Josh. xxiv, 26). Even Eusebius records that a tree stood by the grave. Dr. Hölzl's interesting paper may be supplemented by Prof. Torrey's recent study of Bethulia (in the apocryphal book of Judith) and its surroundings. Dr. Felix M. Exner gives a most elaborate study of the climate of Palestine.

S. A. C.

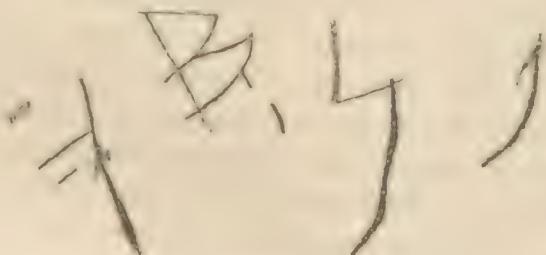
### NOTES AND QUERIES.

*The Calendar Inscription from Gezer.*—I had an opportunity in Constantinople of studying the original of the inscription. The photograph reproduced in the *Quarterly Statement*, January, 1909, is so excellent, that there is not much more to see on the original itself. The readings proposed by me, from a study of the photograph, prove to be correct in every particular. The much discussed sign is certainly a *zayin*. It has, in the various places where it occurs, the forms as described by me, and the right-hand portions of the head are not merely accessories. The *zayin* at the end of the first line is certain. After שְׁנִיר (l. 4), does not stand, in any case, a *hē*; there is a slight fracture on the stone, and below it stands a *nun*. This letter has here, as also in נְכִיר, one more stroke than usual in front, and it begins on l. 4, at the top of the *rēsh*.

On the lower margin בָּשָׂר is certain. The cross stroke at the top of the *gimel* does not belong to the letter, but is a scratch reaching to the edge of the stone. There is no horizontal stroke after the *gimel*.

The left edge of the stone contains network ornamentation.

The reverse has various scratches, which, to some extent, may belong to an earlier inscription. At the top a few letters are still recognizable, and I reproduce them as they appear:—



Probably פְּנִימָה stands here, as a name, comp. פְּנִימָאֵל; less probable is פְּנַחַם.

Greifswald.

M. LIDZBARSKI.

THE  
PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND.

NOTES AND NEWS.

WILLIAM HOLMAN HUNT, O.M., D.C.L.

Born, April, 1827—Died, 7th September, 1910.

OUR subscribers will have heard with deep regret of the death of this distinguished artist, who was for thirty-five years a member of our General Committee. His visits to Palestine began at least ten years before this Society was founded. His famous work, "The Scape-goat," was painted there in 1855, and appeared on the walls of the Royal Academy in the following year. "The Finding of Christ in the Temple," also painted in Palestine, was exhibited in 1860. He was for several years resident in Jerusalem; a close observer of the characteristics of the country and its people, their habits, costume and demeanour, with the view of attaining all the local and archaeological accuracy possible for his pictures.

DR. MACKENZIE arrived at Jerusalem by the beginning of July and has been occupied in making the necessary preparations, paying official visits to the authorities in Jerusalem, Hebron, and Jaffa, conducting negotiations with the land-owners, etc. Some delay has occurred in the appointment of an Imperial Commissioner, which will doubtless soon be overcome. Photographs of Beth-Shemesh previous to its disturbance have been carefully taken by Mr. Raad accompanied by Dr. Mackenzie and Dr. Masterman, who have also

together paid a visit to the excavations in progress at Samaria (Sebaste) under the direction of Dr. Reisner, who was most hospitable and showed them all over the works, giving them full explanations of the discoveries made. This American excavation is being carried out with great care, in a very thorough manner and at great cost.

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The Committee have under consideration a change in the manner of publication of the results of their excavations.

Under the present system of full quarterly reports on the excavations in progress, a strain is placed on the Director, already fully occupied, in having to write these reports, with sufficient care for publication, under circumstances very unfavourable and without access to books of reference, and to forward them to London with their illustrations several weeks before the date of issue.

On the completion of the excavations it becomes necessary, in publishing a complete memoir, to re-write the whole in a consistent form and to reprint text and illustrations, then producing a costly book containing much that has already appeared. This system, which was not foreseen, has been a result of the growth of the Society's excavations and their importance: but it is obviously an extravagant one, which absorbs an undue proportion of the Society's means. The large memoir of the Gezer excavations is already prepared and will be duly published; but for the future it is proposed to adopt a different system, and so avoid the double expenditure.

The *Quarterly Statement* will be issued as heretofore and will contain, in about 50 pages, the usual special articles and correspondence, together with a brief account of the progress of the excavations in hand, and this will be issued to all subscribers as in the past. The full report of the excavations will be reserved for the end of each year's work, and will then be published in 4to form and issued to subscribers of a Guinea and upwards. These 4to parts will, at the conclusion of the excavation of any site, become the complete memoir of that site, and will be in the possession of the "Guinea" subscribers without further outlay on their part.

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In the article "Unknown Palestine" in the July number of the *Q.S.*, the following obvious corrections, already noticed by a few correspondents, should be made. On p. 188, line 9, for "centuries"

read "millenia" (compare four lines lower down); and on p. 193, line 16, "fallacious symbols" is a slip for "phallic symbols."

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Mr. Joseph Offord writes to draw attention to the recently published seventh volume of the *Oxyrhynchus Papyri*. Among the most interesting of the contents is a fragment of the Greek text of the Fourth Book of Esdras (II Esdras in our Apocrypha); although certain features in the extant Latin version presuppose a Greek original, no specimen of the Greek has hitherto been known. Another interesting discovery is that of a fragment of the Septuagint version of Genesis; the date of it is ascribed to the end of the third century of our era, thus making it the oldest MS. of this part of the Bible. It is very noteworthy that here the *divine name*, instead of being translated, is written by two *yōds*, which resemble our *Z*, with a prolongation of the bottom horizontal stroke to the left, and with a transverse horizontal bar cutting the middle. (Compare Q.S., 1909, p. 300, and p. 287, top of page.) Mr. Offord also points out that in Mr. F. L. Griffith's *Catalogue* of the Egyptian demotic papyri in the Rylands Library, Manchester, a list is given of the Aramaic-Hebrew transliterations of the names for nine of the months of the Egyptian calendar.

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In *Home Words for Jerusalem*, June, Dr. Masterman gives an account of Cana in Galilee. The usual identification with Kefr Kenna he rejects; it rests on late ecclesiastical tradition, but there are several objections to it. He argues that the site is to be found at Khurbet Kānā, near Nazareth. On visiting the place in the middle of April he found traces of ancient remains indicating a former occupation by a considerable population. The site, he remarks, is one of the strongest in the neighbourhood of the Battāuf: "it may be looked upon as certain that here there was a small but important town in New Testament times, and we have every reason to believe that a town of the name of Kana was actually here at that period." Josephus mentions a Cana in Galilee which was doubtless the modern Kh. Kānā; and the place was a natural centre and half-way house between Nazareth and Caper-nāum. In point of fact the evidence of the pilgrims of the twelfth to the fourteenth centuries favour Dr. Masterman's view, and it seems probable that the present ecclesiastical tradition is not earlier than the seventeenth century.

Much interest was aroused in the Arabic astrological treatise published by Miss Gladys Dickson in the *Quarterly Statement* during 1908-9, and the Committee decided to issue it separately in book form. It will be remembered that it was a treatise by a Jerusalem Christian native, and contained a great deal of very curious material, carefully classified, and was in several respects quite unique. Miss Dickson prefixed a table of the star-names and added explanatory notes to the translation, and the reprint will undoubtedly be valued by those interested in the subject. It can be had by applying to the Secretary (price 1s., post free).

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It may be well to mention that plans and photographs alluded to in the reports from Jerusalem and elsewhere cannot all be published, but they are preserved in the office of the Fund, where they may be seen by subscribers. Those which were sent by Mr. Macalister, illustrating the excavations at Gezer and which were not reproduced in his quarterly reports, will appear in the final Memoir, now preparing.

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The income of the Society from June 16th to September 15th, 1910, was—from Annual Subscriptions and Donations, including Local Societies, £185 0s. 7d.; from sales of publications, £104 10s. 6d.; making in all, £289 11s. 1d. The expenditure during the same period was £399 10s. 1d. On September 15th, the balance in the bank was £591 11s. 10d.

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Subscribers who have not yet paid will greatly facilitate the Committee's efforts by sending in their subscriptions, and thus save the expense of sending out reminders. Special donations during the quarter have been received from :—

	£	s.	d.
George Mathieson, Esq. ....	20	0	0
John Abercromby, Esq. ....	5	0	0
Mrs. E. Rawlings ....	5	0	0
	<hr/>		
	£30	0	0

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Subscribers to the Fund are reminded that, whilst the receipt of every subscription and contribution is promptly acknowledged by

the Assistant Secretary, they are now published annually. A complete List of Subscribers and Subscriptions for 1909 was given in the Annual Report published with the April number.

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The Committee will be glad to communicate with ladies and gentlemen willing to help the Fund as Honorary Secretaries.

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The attention of those interested in the subject of the Exodus of the Israelites is called to the map of the "Desert of the Wanderings," from Mount Hor on the east to the Suez Canal on the west, and from Mount Sinai in the south to Beersheba in the north, which has been compiled by the War Office, and is based principally upon the sketch surveys of the Palestine Exploration Fund (scale 4 miles to the inch). In eight sheets, price 1s. 6d. per sheet.

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The first edition of Prof. R. A. S. Macalister's work, *Bible Sideights from the Mounds of Gezer*, was quickly sold out, and a second edition is now on sale. It has been written to show how the results of digging in Palestine should appeal not only to the scientific anthropologist or archaeologist, but also to the Bible student who has no special interest in these sciences. The book contains a brief synopsis of the work of the Fund from its foundation to the present, and a description of the site of Gezer, and its history. Price 5s. 4d., post free.

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The *Painted Tombs of Marissa*, published by the Fund, is now recognized as a very important contribution to the history and archaeology of Palestine in the last centuries before our era. It may be mentioned that the leaflet containing the result of the investigations by Prof. Macalister at the Tombs has been published, and can be had on application to the Secretary by those who possess the volume.

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*Golgotha and the Holy Sepulchre*, the last work of the late Major-General Sir Charles Wilson, K.C.B., K.C.M.G., F.R.S., D.C.L., LL.D., etc. In this work the late Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Palestine Exploration Fund has brought together

for the first time all the evidence which the most exhaustive research enabled him to collect bearing on the subject of these Holy Sites; and probably no man living had at once so intimate a knowledge of all investigations in the modern Jerusalem and so complete an acquaintance with what has been written about the Sites from the time of Constantine onwards. The price of the work (demy 8vo) is 6s., by post 6s. 4d., and cheques should be made payable to the order of the Secretary to the Fund, and crossed "Coutts & Co."

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*Judas Maccabaeus*, by the late Colonel C. R. Conder, R.E. This interesting little book was among those of which the whole edition was destroyed in the fire at Messrs. Bain's warehouse in 1907. It has been reprinted and can again be supplied (4s. 6d.) on application to the Secretary.

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The attention of subscribers and others is called to *A Table of the Christian and Mohammedan Eras*, from July 15th, A.D. 622, the date of the Hejira, to A.D. 1900; price by post, 7d. Also to the *Meteorological Observations at Jerusalem*, with tables and diagrams by the late Mr. James Glaisher, F.R.S. Tourists and all desirous of accurate information about the climate of Jerusalem should not fail to send for a copy, price 2s. 6d.

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The attention of subscribers is also called to a work by Sir Charles Warren, entitled *The Ancient Cubit and our Weights and Measures*. He brings evidence to show that all weights and measures (except those of the metrical system) are derived from one source—the double-cubit cubed of Babylonia.

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Many readers will be interested to know that a reprint of the late Mr. Armstrong's book, *Names and Places in the Old and New Testaments*, is now ready. The book has been out of print for some years, but has been frequently enquired for.

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The *Flora of Syria, Palestine, and Sinai*, by the late Rev. George E. Post, M.D., Beirut, Syria, containing descriptions of all the Phaenogams and Aerogens of the region, and illustrated by 441 woodcuts, may be had at the office of the Fund, price 21s.

The Museum and Library of the Palestine Exploration Fund at Jerusalem are in the Bishop's Buildings, near the Tombs of the Kings, where the use of a room has been kindly permitted by the Rev. Dr. Blyth, Bishop in Jerusalem and the East. The Museum is open daily, except Sundays, and the Honorary Secretary, Dr. E. W. G Masterman, will give all information necessary.

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Subscribers in U.S.A. to the work of the Fund will please note that they can procure copies of any of the publications from the Rev. Prof. Lewis B. Paton, Ph.D., Honorary General Secretary to the Fund, 50, Forest Street, Hartford, Conn.

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Subscribers and others may be reminded that the smaller Raised Map of Palestine, constructed from the Surveys of the Palestine Exploration Fund by the late George Armstrong is ready. It is on the scale of 6½ miles to the inch and measures 3' 6" × 2' 6". It has already been used with great success by Professors of Old Testament history, and by teachers in Sunday Schools, and may be especially recommended for large classes of students. On view at the office of the Fund; further particulars may be had on application.

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A complete set of the *Quarterly Statements*, 1869-1908, containing the early letters (now scarce), with an Index, 1869-1892, bound in the Palestine Exploration Fund cases, can be had. Price on application to the Secretary, 38, Conduit Street, W.

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The price of a complete set of the translations published by the Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society, in 13 volumes, with general index, bound in cloth, is £10 10s. A catalogue describing the contents of each volume can be had on application to the Secretary, 38, Conduit Street, W.

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Photographs of the late Dr. Schick's models (1) of the Temple of Solomon, (2) of the Herodian Temple, (3) of the Haram Area and Justinian's Church, and (4) of the Haram Area as it is at present, have been received at the office of the Fund. The four photographs, with an explanation by Dr. Schick, can be purchased by applying to the Secretary, 38, Conduit Street, W.

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Branch Associations of the Bible Society, all Sunday Schools within the Sunday School Institute, the Sunday School Union, and the Wesleyan Sunday School Institute, will please observe that by a special Resolution

of the Committee they will henceforth be treated as subscribers and be allowed to purchase the books and maps (by application only to the Secretary) at reduced prices.

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The Museum at the office of the Fund, 38, Conduit Street (a few doors from Bond Street), is open to visitors every week-day from 10 o'clock till 5, except Saturdays, when it is closed at 2 p.m.

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The Committee have to acknowledge with thanks, among other journals and books, the following :—

*Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology*, Liverpool, Vol. III, parts 1 and 2: Prehistoric pottery from Malta, by N. Tagliaferro; A modern Greek festival, by A. J. B. Wace; The thunderbolt in Egyptian cult, by Prof. P. E. Newberry; Meroë, by Prof. Sayce; Preliminary note on an expedition to Meroë in Ethiopia, by Prof. Garstang.

*The Imperial and Asiatic Quarterly Review*, July, 1910.

*The Biblical World*, 1910, June: The early religion of Palestine (*cont'd.*), by D. D. Luckenbill; July: The cult of the mother-goddess in Ancient Palestine, by L. B. Paton.

*Ancient Architecture in Syria*, by H. C. Butler; and *Greek and Latin Inscriptions in Northern Syria: Jebel Barisha*, by W. K. Prentiss. (Publications of the Princeton University Archaeological Expedition to Syria, Div. II and Div. III, Sect. B, Part 4).

*Bulletin de la Société Archéologique de Bellac*, *Le dolmen-Jab*, No. 1, 1910.

*Journal Asiatiques*, 1910, II: Amulettes sabbatienennes, by M. Danon.

*Nazareth et ses deux Églises de l'Annonciation et de Saint-Joseph, d'après les fouilles récentes pratiquées sous la direction du R. P. Prosper Vianu, O.F.M.* (Picard, Paris, 1910), with appendices by R. de Lasteyrie and Clermont-Ganneau.

*Échos d'Orient*, July, 1910.

*Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique*, May–July, 1910.

*Sphinx*, Vol. XIV, fasc. 2 and 3.

*Palästina Monatsschrift für die Erschließung Palästinas*, VI and VII, 1910.

*Jerusalem: Jahrbuch*, by A. M. Luncz, 1910, VIII, Parts 3, 4.

*Christentum: das Bussgebet der Mönche*, edited and translated by W. Radloff (St. Petersburg, 1909).

**ΝΕΑ ΣΙΩΝ**, May–June, 1910: Engedi and Masada, by J. Phokylidos.

*Al-Mashrik: Revue Catholique Orientale Mensuelle*, June, 1910: Les fruits de Damas et les usages qui s'y rattachent, by P. S. Ghanem; l'hagiologie du Liban, by P. L. Cheïkho.

See further below, pp. 291 sqq.

The Committee will be glad to receive donations of Books to the Library of the Fund, which already contains many works of great value relating to Palestine and other Bible lands. A catalogue of Books in the Library will be found in the July *Quarterly Statement*, 1893.

For list of authorized lecturers and their subjects, see end of the Journal, or write to the Secretary.

Whilst desiring to give publicity to proposed identifications and other theories advanced by officers of the Fund and contributors to the pages of the *Quarterly Statement*, the Committee wish it to be distinctly understood that by publishing them in the *Quarterly Statement* they do not necessarily sanction or adopt them.

#### FORM OF BEQUEST TO THE PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND.

I give to the Palestine Exploration Fund, London, the sum of \_\_\_\_\_ to be applied towards the General Work of the Fund; and I direct that the said sum be paid, free of Legacy Duty, and that the Receipt of the Treasurer of the Palestine Exploration Fund shall be a sufficient discharge for the same.

NOTE.—Three Witnesses are necessary to a Will by the Law of the United States of America, and Two by the Law of the United Kingdom.

## SIR CHARLES WILSON'S VIEWS ON CALVARY AND THE TOMB.

By A. W. CRAWLEY-BOEVEY, M.A., INDIA CIVIL SERVICE (Ret.),  
BARRISTER-AT-LAW.

THE general history of a famous controversy has been well told in the late Sir Charles Wilson's work entitled *Golgotha and the Holy Sepulchre*, published in 1906 by the P.E.F. Society. This learned work is indispensable to all who desire to understand the principal bearings of a very obscure and difficult subject, which has engaged the close attention of many of the best scholars and most careful students of the present generation.

It is clear, from this book, that the perennial struggle between the defenders and opponents of the traditional site has recently entered on a somewhat new phase, and that the main question at issue no longer is whether that traditional site is true, but whether any of the alternative sites deserve, on their own merits, the support of reasonable persons.

The view is widely entertained by many of those who have most carefully studied the subject and have considered the arguments on both sides, that the traditional Holy Sepulchre was *not* the real place of Christ's burial, and that the famous sites of Calvary and the Tomb, which have since the fourth century been venerated by Christendom as the veritable scene of Christ's sufferings and death, are *not* reliable.

These views are powerfully confirmed by Sir Charles Wilson's exhaustive analysis of the principal literary evidence, and few persons will be disposed to question the general conclusion at which he has arrived, that "There is no decisive reason, historical, traditional, or topographical, for placing Golgotha and the Tomb where 'they are now shown. At the same time, there is no direct evidence that they were not so situated." (*Golgotha*, p. 120.)

But when we approach the far more difficult subject of the suggested alternatives, we are at once face to face with a number of very conflicting views which may be thus roughly summarised.

On the one side (*a*) That the real sites of Golgotha and the Tomb are utterly unknown, and beyond the reach of human knowledge; (*b*) That all recent speculations on the subject are, for any practical purpose, worthless, and that the subject of Calvary and the Tomb is too obscure and uncertain to engage the attention of reasonable persons. On the other side, it is urged that scientific research has not spoken its last word on this subject; and that further light may reasonably be expected by separating—for the purpose of this enquiry—the wholly distinct questions of the site of Calvary, and the real place of Christ's burial.

Now it is unquestionable that the first-mentioned view, (*a*), is widely held, not only by scholars and students, but by thoughtful Christians of all classes, who believe that the real place of Christ's burial has been intentionally concealed, and that Christ's Tomb, like that of Moses, will for ever remain unknown. This class of critics contends that there is no evidence that Joseph's rock-hewn sepulchre is still in existence, and that even if its existence could be presumed, it would be impossible, for obvious reasons, to verify or establish its identity. These considerations have great weight, but supporters of the newly-discovered rival tombs, commonly known as "Conder's Tomb" and "Gordon's Tomb," are well aware that their probability entirely turns on the correct identification of Calvary. If the new theory of Calvary be true, we know, at any rate, where to look for the rock-cut tomb of which so many explorers have long been in search. If this theory be not true, neither tomb is of any public importance, except as good specimens of Jewish rock-hewn sepulchres.

Now, in using the word tomb in connection with the subject of the Holy Sepulchre, we must bear in mind the general character of Jewish rock-cut tombs, and the general nature of Jewish burial. There is no question here of any artificial erection above ground which is necessarily as perishable as the materials of which it is composed. The rock-cut tombs of Jerusalem are perhaps amongst the least perishable of all the ancient monuments of the Holy City. They are, in fact, as imperishable from purely physical causes as the native rock from which they are hewn. Such tombs might, of course, be destroyed or over-built during the changes and transformations of many centuries, but Jew, Christian, and Moslem alike have generally respected these memorials of the dead; and since Jerusalem was captured by Moslems in the eighth century, the

public cemeteries and burial-grounds of the Holy City have been protected not only by religious sentiment, but by all the power of the ruling authority. It is probable, from these general considerations, that the rock-hewn tomb of Joseph of Arimathea, like those of David, Solomon, and the Kings of Judah, may be still in existence, if they were situated in some position where they were likely to be preserved. The real problem is (1) to discover the approximate position of these tombs; and (2) to identify them.

It is certain that many of the most famous rock tombs of Jerusalem have disappeared, and even their approximate position is entirely unknown. We know, for example, from St. Peter's speech on the day of Pentecost (Acts ii, 29), that David's sepulchre was in existence and was publicly known at the time he spoke: "Men and brethren let us freely speak unto you of the patriarch David that he is both dead and buried and his sepulchre is with us unto this day." If Jewish tombs (presumably rock-hewn) as famous as those of David and his successors have been entirely lost, and their approximate position undiscoverable without excavations that cannot be made, is it not obvious that the discovery and identification of other rock-hewn tombs must present similar difficulties?

Apart, however, from these considerations affecting the *Tomb* of Christ, the identification of Golgotha or Calvary is a question which stands on a wholly different footing, and, as Sir Charles Wilson points out: "the rejection of the traditional sites led naturally to speculation with regard to the true position of Golgotha" (p. 105).

The difficulty which everyone must feel regarding the real place of Christ's burial does not apply to the identification of a site like Golgotha, regarding which there is a remarkable amount of literary evidence both in the writings of the early Fathers, and in the pilgrim literature of Palestine. Some of this is quoted by Sir Charles Wilson. Other evidence bearing on the same point is ignored. Everyone instinctively perceives that if Golgotha can be identified, we get very near the heart of a burning problem. We cannot indeed ever know (and it may be well for the peace of the world that we cannot) the exact place where Christ's sacred body was laid, but if Golgotha can be reasonably identified, the approximate position of the tomb will at once be made clear, and on this secure foundation a rational theory of the position and general character of the tomb can readily be constructed.

It is plain from these considerations that the *crux* of the whole problem is the identification of Golgotha, and those who can read between the lines will have no difficulty in perceiving that Sir Charles Wilson's main argument in *Golgotha and the Holy Sepulchre* practically resolves itself into an elaborate criticism of those writers who claim to have thrown light on this aspect of the question. "Golgotha," says Sir Charles Wilson, "derived its name "from a local legend which connected it with a skull, possibly that "of Adam, as all the early Christian Fathers who mention the "subject attest. The theories which identify 'the place of a skull' "with a public place of execution, or with a spot whether on an "eminence or not which resembled a skull, are of later growth, and "probably of Western origin." (*Golgotha*, p. 17.) Sir Charles Wilson takes extraordinary pains to show that Golgotha was, in his opinion, not a "mount" or "hill" as popularly supposed. He remarks: "There is no indication in the Bible that Golgotha was skull-like in "form, or that Christ was crucified on a knoll, a hillock, or a hill." The Gospel narrative does indeed imply, he admits, that the crucifixion was visible to many spectators; but this visibility, he thinks, might equally well have been secured had the crosses been erected in one of the surrounding valleys, and the lookers-on had stood on its slopes.

But why, it may be asked, is it necessary to call in question the popular view which has been universally accepted since the early days of Christianity by all sections of the Christian Church? The answer appears to be that this popular view of "Mount" Calvary is opposed to anything that can now be seen at the traditional Holy Sepulchre, and the argument is obviously intended to explain the discrepancy between the popular view and the present appearance of the traditional site. This discrepancy appears to have been noticed from a very early period, for it was observed by Epiphanius (A.D. 312-403) that there was nothing to be seen in Golgotha which suggested the idea of being situated upon a height.

It needs no expert knowledge to see that the traditional Golgotha, situated not only within the modern City, but literally *within a few feet* from the traditional tomb can by no possibility be reconciled with any reasonable view of the Gospel narrative, or even with the facts of common sense. This traditional Golgotha is plainly, in outward appearance, a mere imitation, intended for artistic effect, and palpably contrived for the purpose of combining

under one roof two memorable shrines. The Tomb is one thing. The site of the historic Calvary is another. If the Calvary of tradition is plainly fictitious, doubts will inevitably be entertained (as for many centuries they have, in fact, been entertained) regarding the truth of the tomb as well.

Sir Charles Wilson has spent great learning and labour in discussing various questions connected with the site of Calvary. Was it the place of public execution as declared by Jerome and many other writers? Was it identical with the Jewish *Place of Stoning*--the Beth-ha-Sekélah of the Mishnah? Is the tradition of St. Stephen's martyrdom near the small hillock above Jeremiah's grotto reliable? Has this hillock entirely changed in appearance since the time of Christ? etc. All these questions are of great interest, but they do not assist enquirers to discriminate between the rival sites, and are plainly introduced to throw discredit on the alternative theories which are discussed in Chapter X of Sir Charles Wilson's book, and which contains the real gist and point of his whole work. It is evident, from the tenor of this chapter, and from all that leads up to it, that Sir Charles Wilson entertained a strong opinion that all modern speculations on the subject of Calvary are unworthy of rational belief. He has summarised in p. 115 the common arguments employed in favour of the Skull Hill site, and he has disposed of them all in a very summary and almost contemptuous fashion. But he has ignored, with or without intention, some of the most striking evidence on the subject, and he shows very scanty appreciation of the cumulative weight of expert opinion opposed to his own views. The evidence of ancient maps and the opinion of medieval geographers on which they are founded is entirely ignored; and the references to current literature on the subject, though fairly numerous, show that the author was little acquainted with the remarkable weight of testimony in support of the disputed sites. The Maps of Christian van Adrichem (1584) and of Thomas Fuller (1650), together with all the earlier authorities on which they are founded, cannot reasonably be ignored by anyone who desires to present fairly both sides of a great question.

Sir Charles Wilson concludes his review of the principal literary evidence by summing up in a final chapter the views of rival experts regarding the position and direction of the ancient City Walls (Chap. XI, p. 121). This subject has for many years been

involved in great obscurity by the fact that it has been habitually discussed, *not* on its own merits as an ordinary question of Jerusalem archaeology, but almost entirely with an eye to its bearing on the question of the Holy Sepulchre. Apart from this controversy, few critics would have troubled themselves to contest very seriously the views of Dr. Robinson as expressed in *Biblical Researches* (1841), confirmed and amplified fifteen years later in a subsequent edition published in 1856. Dr. Robinson's views regarding the course of the Second and Third Walls are discussed in some detail by Sir Charles Wilson in *Golgotha and the Holy Sepulchre* (1906); and everyone who has carefully studied the literature of the subject, and examined the ground with map in hand, can readily form a fair opinion for himself regarding the merits of the rival lines. The general character of these lines is very clearly shown on the map that accompanies Vol. I of Robinson's *Biblical Researches*, and Sir Charles Wilson's "Plan of the ancient Walls on the north side of Jerusalem" (Fig. 8, p. 125, of Wilson's *Golgotha*). Excellent maps are also published in Prof. G. Adam Smith's *Jerusalem* (1907), Vols. I and II, and in the late Selah Merrill's *Ancient Jerusalem* (Revell, 1908). The essential difference between Robinson's and Wilson's view is, that Robinson regards the line of the *Second Wall* to be practically identical with the line of the existing City Wall from its commencement near Psephinus, as shown in Wilson's Plan, to the conspicuous rocky cliff that adjoins the Damascus Gate opposite the so-called Grotto of Jeremiah. This line Wilson regards as the *Third Wall* of Agrippa, and his reasons in support of this view, in opposition to Robinson, are fully stated in pp. 137-142 of *Golgotha and the Holy Sepulchre*.

Everyone must form his own opinion between the rival views, but no one can fail to see that Wilson's theory involves at least one formidable objection, which Robinson's entirely meets. If Wilson's conclusion be correct, "that the third wall in the time of the siege followed approximately the same lines as the existing North Wall of Jerusalem" (p. 142), it is obvious that this line was dominated throughout this important section of its course by the higher ground now occupied by the buildings of the Russian Hospice, and by numerous elevated points in the square half mile of country lying between the Damascus Gate and the TOMBS OF THE KINGS. These points are clearly shown in the trigonometrical survey, and are well known to all who are familiar with the ground. The well-

known spur above Jeremiah's Grotto faces the steep scarp on which the present City Wall is built, and is only separated from it by a narrow cutting, of which Sir Charles Wilson has given a full description. It is incredible that this important section of the city defences, from Psephinus to Jeremiah's Grotto, could ever have been left altogether undefended against attack from all these elevated and (in a military sense) most dangerous points. If Wilson's line was really the Third and Outer Wall of Agrippa, it is obvious to anyone that the defences of Jerusalem at this point were singularly weak, being visibly dominated by any active foe who could obtain possession of the spurs and higher ground immediately facing, and even overlooking, the walls.

Col. Conder, Canon Tristram, Dr. Merrill, and many other writers, appear to have clearly appreciated the great importance of this point. Col. Conder, in fact, maintains that the nature of the ground admits of no other line than one which started near the Tower of David, and followed the natural contour of the hills. Sir Charles Wilson remarks that when the wall was first built, *command* was a secondary consideration, and the occupation of the higher ground was not necessary for defence. (*Golgotha*, p. 136.) These sharply contrasted views, both by Royal Engineers of great distinction, may be left to speak for themselves. Dr. Robinson notices, in note 5, p. 219, of his *Later Researches* (1856), that he submitted his own theory of the course of the Second Wall to "a distinguished Military Engineer" acquainted with Jerusalem. He expressed the opinion that Robinson's suggested line for the Second Wall would be a good line, in a military point of view, for a City Wall, though not so good as that of the Third Wall suggested.

Prof. G. Adam Smith criticises Robinson's theory of the Third Wall in p. 246, Vol. I, of his recently published work, *Jerusalem* (1907). He notices, in note 3, that a similar extended line has been advocated by Schultz, Fergusson, Thrupp, Tobler, and recently, with still more forcible arguments, by Merrill. When this was published in 1907, *Ancient Jerusalem* (Revell, 1908), by the late Dr. Merrill, had not been issued. This learned and elaborate work furnishes the latest and by far the fullest information on the subject. It appears to supersede, by later and more accurate information, much of Wilson's argument based on earlier research. Dr. Robinson, and all the writers who have supported him, appear to have recognised the great importance of the military aspect of

the Second and Third Walls. They all repudiate the idea that the existing line could ever have been the exterior outer wall built by Agrippa. The military difficulty could, in their opinion, only be met by the construction of an outer wall, following the general lines first pointed out by Robinson in 1838, traces of which were then, in his opinion, clearly visible.

Both Robinson and Wilson have discussed fully the bearing of all the literary evidence on the subject, and the fact that they both take different views of the well-known description of Josephus, shows clearly that the literary evidence is not altogether to be depended upon, more especially as none of the landmarks, including the Gate Gemath and the so-called Royal Caves, have ever really been identified.

A further point, unnoticed by Sir Charles Wilson but strongly urged by Dr. Robinson, is the evidence afforded by the remains discovered near the Damascus Gate in 1838. Dr. Robinson notices (*Biblical Researches*, I, 476), that all Christian writers, from Adamnanus to Rudolf de Sichem (A.D. 1336-50) speak of this gate as the Gate of St. Stephen, and the place of St. Stephen's martyrdom as upon the north side of the city. A Memorial Church in honour of the first martyr has, in fact, existed since the fourth century in close proximity to this gate, which has been called by various names. Arabic writers called it the Bab el-Amud, or Gate of the Pillar. The existence of this gate is shown in the Madaba Mosaic, a relic of the fifth century, and one of the most ancient plans yet discovered of old Jerusalem. That the site of this gate is one of extreme antiquity is certain. The great northern highway from Samaria enters Jerusalem by this gate, and those who contend that the City Wall at this point was the Third Wall of Agrippa, and *not in existence in the time of Christ*, must suppose a prolongation of this ancient highway within the present walls, and the existence of some interior city gate clearly distinguishable from the Pillar Gate. No evidence on these points has ever yet been produced or even suggested; and, therefore, Dr. Robinson's view, first published in 1841, that "this gate could have belonged only to the Second Wall" (p. 464), seems, on the face of it, highly probable. Writing fifteen years later, Dr. Robinson noticed that, amongst many diversities of opinion, this point had not even been disputed. (*Latter Researches*, 1856, p. 206.) If the site of this famous gate marks the real line of the Second Wall at this point, it is clear that Sir Charles Wilson's theory is quite untenable, apart from the military objections already referred to.

Sir Charles Wilson admits "that no certain traces of the Second Wall has yet been found" (p. 137). This admission is supported by Prof. G. Adam Smith. (*Jerusalem*, I, p. 249, 1907.) Until it can be shown that Robinson's view of the Second Wall is plainly untenable, it is obviously futile to seek for traces of that wall *south* of the present City Wall, and within the crowded limits of the modern city.

Sir Charles Wilson suggests that Robinson's views regarding the existence of the Third Wall are out of date, and that the researches of explorers during the past sixty years have given no support to his theory on the subject. Those who are acquainted with the conditions of modern Jerusalem, and the extraordinary way in which the city has extended northwards during recent years, can hardly feel any wonder that the search for buried remains of this wall should have proved unsuccessful. It is very doubtful whether there ever has been any real desire to trace the course of Robinson's Third Wall, which many powerful interests are for obvious reasons anxious to conceal. Under these conditions, no one can feel at all sanguine that the question of the walls will ever be cleared up by modern research. Jerusalem, it may be observed, is rapidly becoming, for all practical purposes, inaccessible to those who depend entirely on the spade. Excavation inside and outside the present walls is becoming every year less possible, as official permission to dig is closely restricted by the growth of private interests; and powerful public bodies, opposed to any new light, are constantly on the watch to conceal, or, if necessary, to destroy, any new and inconvenient evidence that may accidentally come to light. Powerful churches, backed by all the material resources and political prestige of their own Governments, are little likely to promote any *bona-fide* research, the object of which is plainly calculated, if not intended, to discredit a world-famous shrine in the supposed interests of scientific exploration. Many persons will probably consider that far too much importance has been attached by disputants on both sides to this question of the Walls. Those who have already made up their minds on the subject of the Holy Sepulchre are little likely to be influenced by any possible demonstration of the course of the ancient City Walls. Supporters of that famous site will, of course, continue to uphold it, regardless of all theories on the subject. Opponents are already well aware that whether the Holy Sepulchre was inside or outside the disputed Second Wall, its improbable, if not impossible, *position*

is only one of numerous difficulties which surround the subject of the traditional "holy places." Sir Charles Wilson notices, at some length, the well known story of the discovery of the "Sacred Cave" related by Eusebius, and he furnishes a plausible explanation of the alleged miraculous character of that discovery; but he says very little about the "Invention of the Cross" and the real significance of that famous miracle. He notices, indeed, that Eusebius, the chief literary witness of the first miracle, is utterly silent regarding the second; but he has omitted to notice the material facts (1) That the Cross was discovered *several years after* the site of Constantine's Churches had been chosen; (2) That this miracle occurred by deliberate arrangement *on the very day* that the Church of the Anastasis was dedicated. Whatever may be thought about the miraculous discovery of the Tomb, there can be no two opinions about the real character of the second miracle, on which the truth of the traditional sites mainly depends. The view expressed by Sir Charles Wilson that the points involved are "purely archaeological" will seem to most persons singularly unconvincing. No one can fail to see that questions of Romish dogma and of doctrine are closely bound up with the whole subject, and this, of course, is the reason why the question of the traditional sites has always aroused on both sides such intense and even bitter feeling.

The great majority of travellers and students who visit Jerusalem for the first time instinctively perceive that these sites, hallowed though they are by the prayers of countless pilgrims since the days of Constantine, are inherently incredible. This feeling, which is very widely shared, has naturally led to speculation regarding the true position of Golgotha and the real Tomb. Sir Charles Wilson regarded all the modern speculations on the subject with invincible distrust, and was resolutely orthodox and conservative in preferring the traditional sites, however unworthy of belief on their own merits, to all the alternatives. This attitude is quite consistent and intelligible. It appeals strongly to the minds of those who have always been taught to regard ancient Catholic tradition as something sacrosanct, and not to be judged by the ordinary canons of evidence and common sense. This class is little likely to be influenced, or even disturbed, by any archaeological arguments whatever, or by any possible demonstration of the falsity and transparent imposture of the traditional sites. The more incredible and absurd these sites are shown to be, the more

resolutely will their professional supporters uphold them on the well-known maxim of Tertullian, *Credo quia absurdum*, "I believe them because they are incredible." The arguments in this paper are addressed, *not* to those who have already made up their minds on the subject, but to that large and influential class which is not yet committed to an opinion on either side. Sir Charles Wilson is by far the ablest modern critic of the new sites, and has done more than anyone else to bolster up the claims of the traditional "holy places" by saying everything that was possible in their favour, and dismissing very summarily all the evidence that tells against them. His work, viewed as a whole, amounts, in fact, to a very able and skilful argument in support of one side of the question. Those who prefer to lean on expert authority rather than think out a difficult subject for themselves, will find in Sir Charles Wilson's book much that will help them. His views will be likely always to carry great weight; but those who are not partizans may well be reminded that many Palestine scholars of great distinction differ altogether from Sir Charles Wilson regarding the disputed sites. The late Canon Tristram, of Durham, Col. Conder, R.E., Dr. Eder-sheim—the learned author of *Life and Times of Jesus the Messiah*—in England, and Drs. Fisher-Howe, Schaff, and Selah Merrill in America, are amongst the best-known supporters of the modern view of Calvary. These are only a few of the well-known Palestine scholars and public writers (between thirty and forty in number) who have publicly supported this modern view. Many of these writers are unmentioned by Sir Charles Wilson, and their views are altogether ignored; but the names quoted are amply sufficient to show that the views expressed in *Golgotha and the Holy Sepulchre* are far from being generally accepted, and that this interesting work, able as it undoubtedly is, has by no means exhausted a subject which deeply interests every Christian nation in the world, both on religious and antiquarian grounds.

NOTE.—Sir Charles Wilson was most impartially disposed on this question. He gave, in his book, all the *ancient* evidence he could collect, and referred to some opinions on both sides. He recognised that some sanctity attached to a site that had been the object of pilgrimage for fifteen centuries, apart from proof of its original authenticity: but he demurred to the advertising as the "true tomb of Christ" a place as to which there can be no proof and which has no claim to reverence—a spot empirically selected within the last few decades.

J. D. C.

## THE IMMOVABLE EAST.

By PHILIP J. BALDENSPERGER.

(Continued from Q.S., 1909, p. 252.)

CURSES are pronounced almost universally, from the babe beginning to mutter a few incomprehensible words, to the dying man. It is not considered so bad a habit as it is thought in Europe, and some curses at least mean nothing at all. *Yen'āl abūk* (ينعل ابوك), “Cursed be your father,” is the standard curse, so to speak, and is known by almost every European in the Orient, from hearing it at every turning of the street. In spite of the negligence in pronouncing curses, it is believed that a curse will fall on the person on whom it is invoked; if the person be alive it may easily be called away, but not so on a dead person, where the curse remains. A Jew is twice accursed, whilst the dead of the Christians alone are accursed, that is to say, a Jew may become a Christian, and a Christian may be converted to Mohammedanism, therefore, he is accursed as long as he lives. Curses may be divided into four classes, according as they affect persons, their possessions, their ancestors, or are quite general.

I. Personal curses and imprecations are generally considered as ineffectual, with but few exceptions. The gravest of all personal ones is *yen'āl* (ينعل) *dīnak*, “Cursed be your religion,” which, jokingly, is turned into *yen'āl tīnak*, “Cursed be your figs”; *yen'ālak*, “Cursed be you”; *yen'āl h̄ayātak*, “Cursed be your life”; *yen'āl mīllāk* (*gymānak*), “Cursed be your sect (‘belief’).” Also, *tū'ān*, “pestilence”; *dahīt*, “calamity”; *lkala'*, “be uprooted”; *haw[ū]* (هوية), “deep (to fall into the)”; *hawwāy*, “tingling of the ear”; *chwāh* (أهواء), “stroke”; *lalgha[t]*, “a sting”; *nuk̄hat*, “epilepsy”; *latshat*, “a blow (with the hand)”; *kalbū[t]*, “a big rock (or uprooting)”; *abu z̄nab* (ابو زنابت), “changer of forms.” Among the Bedawy tribe of the Zenates settled in Tunis, are *Allah ȳmik*, “God strike you blind”; *Allah yekhfik*, “God hide you (make you disappear)”; and many others.

II. The more comprehensive curses in common use are: *yekhreh bethak*, “destroyed be your house” (this is only effectual for married people: house means wife and children); *yekhreh dyarak*, “Destroyed be your settling”; *yekla<sup>t</sup> mālik wa‘yālak* (يَلْكَعُ مَالِكٍ وَعِيَالَكَ), “Destroyed be your wealth and your family.”

III. Ancestral curses are only effective when those ancestors are dead; they are generally pronounced against relatives of the father, and mothers and their relatives are not taken into consideration; *yen‘al immak*, “Cursed be your mother,” which is heard in Algeria, is not used at all in Palestine. Here may be quoted: *yen‘al abūk*, “Cursed be your father”; *yen‘al waldak wa-shāhetak*, “Cursed be your parents and your martyrs (killed in battle or so)” ; *yen‘al sīdak*, “Cursed be your grandfather.” The fellahin do not use the word *yen‘al*, but say: *Allah lā yerham terāb abūk*, “God be not merciful on the dust of your father”; or with the words, *illi katlato marā* (إِلَى قُتْلَتَهُ مَرَا), “who was killed by a woman.” This last illustrates the words of Abimelech, “lest they say a ‘woman slew him’” (Judges ix, 54).

IV. General imprecations touching the village or the whole tribe: *yen‘al abū sheikh baladak*, “Cursed be the father of the sheikh of your village”; *yen‘al abū il-sarbat il-hamlok*, “Cursed be the father of that unworthy troop”; *yen‘al abū l-milha[t] fi baladak*, “Cursed be the father of the fair one of your village”; *yej‘al il-hamī t-rawak fi dar il-batūd*, “May the owl call in the house of the remote (despised).” The cursing of a father or mother was punishable by death, according to the law of Moses (Leviticus xxvi, 9). It may be a cause of murder amongst the fellahin or Bedū, that is to say, it may be followed by just vengeance on behalf of the soul of one’s father.

Jotham calls down a general imprecation upon the inhabitants of Shechem (Judges ix, 20), and after the destruction of Thebez and death of Abimelech “the curse came on the Shechemites as pronounced by Jathom” (Judges ix, 57).

The sober and solemn language of the morning flies away with the mist, and becomes foul in the extreme, even with acquaintances and in a joking way; and, as with curses, so oaths are varied.

Oaths also may be divided into four different classes in so far as they are connected with persons, relatives, sacred things, or sacred beings.

I. Among the personal oaths are : *wahyāti*, "by my life"; *'alla ēneyi*, "by my eyes"; *waheyāt rāsī*, "by the life of my head"; and so by every essential part of one's self. Oaths are uttered with ease, and are not thought of any consequence. These oaths have entered into general conversation, and are not taken as solemn affirmations of the truth; they must then be emphasized by stronger terms as *Allah ye'mēnī*, "God strike me with blindness," and so forth.

These oaths have different names: *aliyet*, *kism*, *yamīn*, and *half*. The *half* is only used in the verb "to swear"; "to swear an oath" is *halaf yamīn*. Swearing was very common among the Jews and their Israelite ancestors. Jesus says (Matthew v, 36), "swear not by thy head," and the patriarch swore to Abimelech (Genesis xxi, 23). Only false oaths are forbidden (Leviticus xix, 12). Even the austere reformer (Nehemiah xiii, 25) curses the people and makes them swear by God. The Apostle Peter also had forgotten the lesson, and curses and swears in an hour of darkness (Matthew xxvi, 74). On the other hand, the Apostle James repeats the good lesson received by Jesus, and forbids swearing for any cause (James v, 12).

II. Oaths on relatives are less emphatic if the person alluded to be still alive. They are: *wahyāt*, "by the life of," followed by "my father," "my father's ashes (if dead)," or "my little children."

III. Among the oaths on sacred objects, visible or invisible, are: "by the life of the bread and salt" (*il-eshsh wa'malḥ*, العيش والملح); "of the (fire) composed of seven" (*qatl ṣab'a*, قاتل سبعة); or "by my religion" (*wdīni*). There is also the oath, "my hand below thy girdle" (*yadī taḥt hizāmik*, يدي تحت حزامك), which reminds us of the oath which Abraham made Eleazar take (Genesis xxiv, 2).

IV. Of a more serious character are the oaths taken by God, the prophets, the saints, or the temples: *wallah* (الله), "by God," however, is used for anything, no matter how trifling; *wahyāt Allah*, "by the life of God," is more serious. The formula to use at the tomb of a saint or prophet is:

(*wallahi il-azīm, billahi il-karīm, in ya nabi Rūbīne*),

والله العظيم بالله الكريم ان يانبي روبين.

"By God the mighty, by God the bountiful, O prophet Reuben,"

Then follows the occasion of the oath, either to swear that a crime was not committed by the person, or that he has not even seen anything concerning it. This oath is very solemn, and both the swearer and receiver are accompanied by armed friends and relatives, and bloody scenes might ensue, especially if the oath is forced upon a person. If he has sworn falsely, he fears the consequences of the oath, and may take vengeance immediately; or else, if he has really sworn truly, he may be seized with dread at the solemnity of a performance which, if properly carried out, is looked upon as rather impious.

"By the life of our prophet Mohammed," is said very easily, in fact more readily than the oath by the patron saints, as it is believed that God and Mohammed are very forgiving, whereas most prophets and saints do not want to be troubled, and punish those who interfere with them. May one compare 1 Sam. xxviii, 15: "Why hast thou disquieted me, to bring me up?" says Samuel to Saul at Endor.

To swear "by the beard of Mohammed," as has been so often repeated by different writers, rests on some error. The veneration of the beard, in Islam especially, is great, but not to the extent of swearing by it: at least, I have never heard any Arab swear by the beard of the prophet. Another oath is "by the life of the rock (of the temple) and the temple" (*wahidat es-sukhrut wal haram*). Native Christians swear by the Sepulchre and by Christian saints, but with more discretion and sincerity.

Sun, moon, and stars are also objects by which the natives swear. No doubt this is a relic of ancient Canaanite religion, although the heathen gods were still venerated in the days of Jeremiah (Jeremiah xix, 13). Children will swear by their eyes or their fathers, and so forth, for the sake of a couple of marbles, and the custom is so common that it has become quite meaningless.

Exclamations of all kinds are uttered from time to time, to request favour, to ask pardon, etc.; they lose their force and become simply a habit. I may mention the following: *ya Allah, ya layyi* ("O benevolent one"), *ya karim* ("O generous one"), *ya moujūd* ("O omnipresent"), *ya qheiyār* ("O jealous"), *ya kader 'alla kul shay'* ("O Almighty"), and *istaghfar Allah* (الله يغفر), "Forgiveness, or pardon, God," may also be used as a strong negative "not at all." Native Christians use the same expressions, with others more closely

connected with their religion (*e.g.*, the name of the Virgin, of a Christian saint, and so on).

To give more emphasis to their devotions, they repeat the same formula of prayer or words a certain number of times, and there is an expression for every quality of God. To repeat the praises of God is called *mashāḥat*; praising God is called *tashīh*; mentioning God is *tazkīr*; acknowledging God to be *one*, or to be the living God, is *tawhīd*; to glorify God by praise is *tahmīd*; to call God one is *tahlīl*; to magnify God is called *takbīr*. We read in I Chronicles xvi, 4, that David appoints the Levites to make mention of God, to thank Him, and to praise Him. Compare the duties of the Levites in Ezra iii, 10 *sq.*

These various appeals and exclamations are made either individually or in the gatherings on Thursday evenings by the dervishes and candidates.

To show disgust or disdain for anything or anybody, they say *ṭfū* which suggests the act of spitting. A stronger term, *alhs*, which is addressed to a dog, may be prompted on witnessing any very vile act. A common expression is *yā latīf*, “O benevolent one,” which may merely correspond to “Is it possible?” or the like.

Charity (*ehsān*, احسان; *sadakat*, صدقة) is obligatory by the law of Mohammed. The Koran bids a tenth to be given to the poor, but this may be considered as unknown. At assemblies, feasts, and marriages, the poor, or rather the mendicants, receive either food or coppers, and they seem to be proud of the *rīb* they have to take in order to allow others to fulfil the law. Subscriptions for public disasters are virtually unknown, and, if charity is done at all, it is not brought before the public in the ordinary Western way, by publishing it in newspapers, simply because these do not circulate, and also because the obligations of the different classes towards each other are not developed in the same way as in the West. The beggars generally lean on a long stick—for they must feign some infirmity—and carry a tin or wooden bowl dangling on their arm—as their trade-mark as it were—and they assemble at the doors of mosques or churches, where they receive a few coppers. The Jerusalem corporation of mendicants is certainly well supplied with cripples, blind, and feigning beggars, for they have here every opportunity for asking alms of the pilgrims of all nations who meet here, and liberally give to the miserable-looking people.

On the other hand, the differences in fortunes are not so great in the East. Luxury is not excessive, neither is misery so profound, as in the West. All classes meet in the mosques, without luxury and without apportioned places, and thus they feel more equal in the place of worship than in the more splendidly decorated Christian churches. Moreover, special toilets are unknown, as the women wear the *izār*—a long white sheet or cloth.

The feigning of poverty is a policy inherited from the days now gone by, when every wealthy-looking person was forced to contribute by the passing governor, whose residence was at Aeca or Damascus, and who only levied taxes once a year, and then took them where best they could. The inhabitants, in their turn, "plucked" the visitors, and always feigned poverty in order to enlist the pity of the opulent pilgrims. This secular policy has bred a race perhaps not met with in other countries, and it gave the people an inventive turn of mind for sacred spots so plentiful in Palestine that they do not inspire the awe which is generally associated with them.

*Sabil*, or public fountains, are dedicated to the wayfaring and thirsty wanderers in the dry regions, by charitable rich proprietors, or, in some places, by the government. The *sabils* are very expensive charity funds, and the government exempts the owner of these fountains from all taxes, provided they promise to have water in them at all times. The public fountain is sometimes simply a trough to water the animals, but those erected by the government are more monumental. The most renowned is the *sabil abu Nabat*, a mile from Jaffa, with monumental cupolas and ornamentation, erected by the Governor of that name who lived at Aeca in the beginning of the nineteenth century. Other *sabils* on the Gaza road have long ago ceased to exist. Jaffa has many of them in different quarters, fed by the water-wheel wells. In Ramleh is the *Muristan sabil*. On the road to Jerusalem is the *sabil* of Abu Ghosh, erected for the soul of the late Haj Mustapha; but it has long ago been neglected by the lazy descendants.

The towns of Hebron and Nâblus, where water is not scarce, have no lack of *sabils* scattered throughout them. Jerusalem did not know this luxury for centuries. The monumental *sabil* of the lower Pool of Gihon (Birket es-Sultan), as well as many others, are empty. A new *sabil* has been built near the Jaffa Gate at Jerusalem, in memory of the twenty-first anniversary of the Sultan, on the 1st of September, 1900, and another one at Jaffa Harbour.

The *sabil* of the Convent of Mar Elias, between Jerusalem and Bethlehem, is fed from the Greek Convent. This *sabil* was for more than fifty years the only one in all Judaea, and has been a great boon to the thirsty fellahin passing that way. The Greek convents have generally *sabils* near them.

Hospitality in the towns is practised collectively. Travellers go to the khan (خان)—the Oriental hotel—where men and beast, for a small sum, find shelter. They can have an empty room for the night and to store their luggage, and they pay a fee of a beshlik or so for “the use of the key” if they keep it with them. Food is not provided, every traveller must buy for his wants and either eat it cold or prepare his dinner himself. Those who have no more luggage than they can carry lodge either in the porches of the mosque or in the mosque itself where mats are provided, and food is distributed towards sunset by a servant of the mosque, to any one who may be present. It is said that a traveller once came to the mosque and received no food, he then wrote above the door the following:

*jame' balla 'esh buni lēsh*

جامع بلا عيشبني ليش

“What was a mosque without victuals built for?”

He found on his next journey this answer written:

*buni la-ṣalāt ya ḫalīl il-heiat*

بني لالصلة يا قليل الحياة

“It was built for prayer, Oh impudent fellow!”

And again he wrote a justification:

*il-ṣalāh heia fil-fallā, waj-jame' yenhad 'alla rās illi banā*

الصلة حيا في الفلة والجامع ينهد على راس الي بناء

“The prayer can be said in the field, and let the mosque fall on the head of its builder.”

Every Oriental has some kind of cloak, the ‘*aba*’ (عبا), which is at the same time his cover, not only on the journey but also at home. The Mosaic law forbids a man to hold back the Simlah (or ‘*aba*’) as a pledge: “For that is his only covering, it is his garment for his skin: wherein shall he sleep?” (Exod. xxii, 27).

Christians go to their respective convents, where they almost always find the necessary food and lodgings for a night or two.

As the convents have more space and accommodation, better rooms are reserved for such travellers as can pay a small sum. Since the great change of the second part of the nineteenth century, when hotels have sprung up everywhere, and means of travelling have been improved and multiplied, the *khans* and convents of the Jaffa-Jerusalem district have been neglected; but they are very handy in out-of-the-way places, and are used by Europeans as well. An ignorant Italian monk travelling in the eighteenth century passed a town where he found no other accommodation than the *khān*. He was told to go to the *khān*—the place of such travellers as himself. In his description of the *khān*, he says: “This is a place where the Moslems put Christian-dogs, as the name indicates—*Cum*, the Italian for dog—they have no more respect for Christians than for the dogs.”

As indicated, some travellers take rooms, but the less wealthy sit down in the coffee-room and, having taken a cup and a pipe, lie down where they have been sitting and chatting for hours, often taking the small stool as a pillow; a stone is not so high and is often used. Some smooth stones are always seen lying about; they are usually from the valley, where the waters flowing over them for centuries have washed away the sharp edges. When Jacob was on his journey to Haran, he arrived at Luz and tarried all night in that *makim* “place” (or sanctuary, as a mosque is also called *makim*), and he took a stone of the “place” for his pillow (Gen. xxviii, 11). And when he awoke after his dream he said: “Surely Jehovah is in this ‘place’” (*v.* 16), and he called the name of the place Bethel (*c.* 19), “House of God.” Mosques and khans are the meeting-place of nations, and during the quiet evenings news is here exchanged about wars and rumours of wars. Besides the coffee-houses there are Greek or Jewish drinking-shops where *raki*, *arak* (عرق) is sold. Christians and Jews frequent these, and if a Moslem goes there he does not do it in public, though he can drink more than others. The majority even of Christians of the country are very sober and do not indulge in strong drinks in the drinking-shops, called *khāmirat*, and all Moslems may be considered as true followers of the Rechabites, who drank no wine (Jer. xxxv, 8), whereas the Israelites in general abused it.

After work all the workmen and many shopkeepers gather in some spacious coffee-shop, where divers amusements are brought before the public. Among the most favourite amusements are the

wrestlers called *tabbut* (طبل), who wear only leather pantaloons, and are otherwise quite naked. They wrestle on tan strewed on the ground, and receive a few coppers at the end of the performance. *Karakū* (قرآن), dolls, are worked by a man behind a curtain, who changes his voice for every puppet, and puts into their mouths some funny and often very indecent things. Sometimes the shadows of the dolls projected by light are only seen. Jugglers or conjurers, *sibarin*, also show many tricks which are known in Europe, and are not especially remarkable. Stories of heroes are read and listened to with an almost religious zeal: the most popular are those of 'Antar, Abu-Zaid, and of the Thousand and One Nights.

Egyptian singers sit on an elevated platform and play on the *kanūn*, an instrument resembling a harp, but which is played lying flat on the knees of the musician. Very probably this is the *kinnōr*, the harp of David (1 Sam. xvi, 23). In private houses, women accompany the *kanūn* with songs; these singers are very expensive and generally sing at weddings or at family-feasts. Ecclesiastes mentions them as among the luxuries: "I gat me men-singers and women-singers, and the delights of the sons of men, musical instruments, and that of all sorts" (Eccles. ii, 8).

Among the games the most common is to toss a coin and guess whether it be head or tail—*turrat* or *nakshat*—cards, *shaddet*, and divers other games of European origin are often played at home. The serpent-charmer, *hāyy*, performs only in the day-time in the market-place. He is a dervish of the Erfai order, and only presents harmless snakes, thus being much more prudent than his Egyptian brother.

The Hebrews in their travels lived much the same way as the Arabs. Jacob slept in the *makām* (see above), the sons of Jacob going to Egypt, and Moses on his journey stopped at the *mālīn* (Gen. xlvi, 27, and Ex. iv, 24), the *khān* of the Arabs. Serpent-charmers like those of modern Palestine were also known. The deadly *Dubois Xanthina*, the largest Palestine viper, is never seen in the charmer's bag: it is called *tarshat*, "the deaf." The Israelites feared it, and knew that this kind cannot be charmed. "They are like the deaf adder that stoppeth her ear, which will not hearken to the charmers, charming never so wisely, but break their teeth, O God, in their mouth" (Ps. lviii, 4-6). In those days, too, they gathered together to hear news, and to listen to the song and musical instruments (Ezek. xxxiii, 31, 32).

Some thirty years ago the *jarid* was played at Mamilla near Jerusalem, but owing to the want of space and the rise of new buildings, this beautiful sport on horseback is now unknown. Nevertheless, at the feasts of Rubine the horsemen of Jaffa, Ramleh, and Gaza indulge in it. The race course, called *mīdān*, no longer exists, though the Arab may be called a born horseman, and no sooner is he old enough to get on a horse than he will gallop away and try to throw the palm stick or any other stick that he can get hold of.

(*To be continued.*)

## THE GALILEE OF JOSEPHUS. THE POSITIONS OF GABARA, JOTAPATA AND TARICHEAE.

By Dr. E. W. G. MASTERMAN.

THE majority of the places in Galilee mentioned in the *Life* and the *Wars* of Josephus are now identified. The great cities of Ptolemais (*Akka*), Sepphoris (*Suffuriyeh*), and Tiberias (*Tabariya*), are known to everybody. Cana (*Kh. Kānā*), Chabolo (*Kabul*), Gischala (*el-Jish*), Japha (*Yājā*), the plain of Asochis (*el-Battāuf*), Sogane (*Sukhnin*), Salamis (*Kh. es-Salūmeh*), and several other less important places are fixed beyond any likelihood of reasonable dispute. It is possible through our knowledge of the situation of these places to know with exactitude the particular area of what is popularly known as "Galilee," in which occurred the stirring events of the rebellion, and the subsequent campaign of the Romans.

Three important places, each the site of stirring events, are still the subject of some dispute, viz., Gabara, Jotapata, and Taricheae.

The conduct of the campaign was as follows: Vespasian marched out of Ptolemais and came to "the bounds of Galilee" and there pitched his camp. This must have been somewhere in the direction of Sepphoris, for the followers of Josephus, who were camped, with their leader, at Garis (an unknown site) "not far from Sepphoris," when they caught sight of the Roman army took immediately to flight, Josephus himself going to Tiberias—where he was by no means welcomed (*Wars*, III, vi, 2, and vii, 2). Vespasian

marched on to the city Gabara (*Wars*, III, vii, 1), which he took upon the “first onset”; from there he proceeded, on 6th of Iyyar, to the great stronghold of Josephus, Jotapata, which he captured with the historian himself, after a prolonged struggle on Tamuz 1st (*Wars*, III, vii and viii).<sup>1</sup> During the time of the siege Trajan was dispatched to capture Japha (near Nazareth) “the largest village in all Galilee and encompassed by very strong walls” (*Life*, § 45) which he did with the assistance of Titus (*Wars*, III, vii, 31). Then Vespasian, having garrisoned Caesarea with two legions, and Seythopolis (*Beisan*) with the famous 5th and 10th legions (*Wars*, III, ix, 1), proceeded to capture and utterly destroy Joppa (*Yaffa*) (*Wars*, III, ix, 4). Vespasian and part of his army were then *sited* for three weeks at Caesarea Philippi by King Agrippa (*Wars*, III, ix, 1), but there learning that “Tiberias was full of innovators, and that Taricheae had revolted” he betook himself to Seythopolis, and having sent Titus to bring up three legions from Caesarea, he himself advanced on Tiberias from the south and received its speedy submission (*Wars*, III, ix, 78); the fall of Taricheae and the massacre of its inhabitants on 8th of Elul, took place soon after. With the conquest of the rebels at Mount Tabor, at Gamala (probably, but not certainly, *Kubat el-Husn*) on 24th of Elul, and finally at Gisehala (*el-Jish*), the subjugation of Galilee was complete.

#### GABARA.

Of Gabara we know nothing except through Josephus, and even in his works the name—though there is little doubt but that one place is referred to—appears in several forms. Josephus has been often credited with the statement that Tiberias, Sepphoris, and Gabara were the “greatest cities in Galilee” (see *Life*, § 25). But the passage in the original is ambiguous and is translated by Whiston thus:—

“He tried to persuade the inhabitants of Tiberias and of Sepphoris (and for those of Gabara he supposed they would be also of the same mind as the others), which were the greatest cities in Galilee, to revolt from their subjection to me,” etc.

<sup>1</sup> The Jewish months concerned are—

*Nisan*, corresponding more or less to April; the 1st of *Nisan* is usually between the middle of March and the beginning of April.

*Iyyar*, say, May.

*Ab*, say, August.

*Sivan*, say, June.

*Elul*, say, September.

*Tamuz*, say, July.

*Tisri*, say, October.

In the edition, revised by A. R. Shilleto (with notes by Sir Charles Wilson), the editor commits himself by saying “and these three were the greatest” though “three” is not in the original.

It may be said with perfect certainty that Gabara was not to be classed in any degree with Tiberias and Sepphoris in grandeur of building or in political importance – the whole narrative shows this – and it seems incredible that Josephus could have intended this in his original writing. It is possible that including “all the villas and small villages that were round about it” – which Vespasian destroyed with it (*Wars*, VII, vii, 1) – it may have had a population third, though much after, these other two great cities. But in that case Josephus cannot have counted Taricheae – much less Scythopolis – as in Galilee.

The name itself being a matter of some doubt, where can we, on grounds of the History, look for the place?

Now in the first place this town was an important one in the account of Josephus’ life, and there is a strong presumption from the narrative that it was somewhere within the area of his chief activities, e.g., not far from the plain of Asochis, from Cana his home, and Jotapata his fortified stronghold. It was not a walled town, for Josephus took no steps to fortify it (*Wars*, II, xx, 6), though within it was a dwelling – the house of Jesus – which Josephus described as “a large castle, in no way unlike a citadel” (*Life*, § 48). When the envoys, hostile to Josephus, came to Galilee (*Life*, §§ 44, 45) their route was through Xadot (*Iksal*), Japha (*Yafa*), Sepphoris (*Saffuriyah*), Asochis (either the plain itself or the town of that name in the plain which is believed to have lain at *Tell Bedawiyeh*). Vespasian also, as mentioned above, approached it by “the neighbourhood of Sepphoris.”

When the envoys were at Gabara, Josephus “arose from Chabolo (*Kabul*) with 3,000 armed men . . . and came to Jotapata as desirous to be near them, the distance being no more than 40 furlongs.” While here, within his fortifications, Josephus at first refused to go to Gabara for a conference, because its inhabitants had been persuaded by Simon, the principal man of the city, to go over to the side of John (*Life*, § 25). Later on, having “cut off the the passages” from Gabara both to the north and south, and having stopped the bearers of hostile messages, he collected a large force and came there. “Now on the fifth day following, when I was at

Gabaroth, I found the entire plain, that was before the village, full of armed men who were come out of Galilee to assist me." Here Josephus stirred up the crowds until the envoys were in the greatest danger, and then, fearing the consequences of their threatened violence, he withdrew his men to the village of Sogane (*Sukhnîn*) "which was 20 furlongs from Gabara."

Gabara was then situated in a plain, but from the fact that the "passages" could be stopped, must have been among the mountains; it was 20 stadia ( $2\frac{1}{2}$  miles) from *Sukhnîn* and twice that distance, by road, from *Jefat*; it was nearer to the latter place than to *Kabul*. The best approach to it, both from the south (Jerusalem) and from the north-west, was from the neighbourhood of *Seffuriyeh*.

All the geographical details point to *Arrabet el-Baltauf*, a large and important village almost hidden away in the mountains of *es-Saghûr*. The distances both from *Sukhnîn*, between which and *Arrabet el-Baltauf* is a plain, and from *Jefat* agree very well. It is situated in the very centre of what we may call the "Galilee of Josephus." All around it are the cities and villages mentioned in connection with the rebellion—Chabola, Sogane, and Jotapata to the west; Asochis, Sepphoris and Cana, south-west; Salamis and Bersabe, north-east. In striking at this place first of all Vespasian was seizing the very heart of the rebellious district.

Robinson (*B.R.*, III, pp. 86, 87) proposed to find in *Kh. Kubara* (or as it is called in the P.E.F. Memoirs *Kh. Kabra*) the site of Gabara, but except on philological grounds this ruin has nothing to recommend it. The site is one of no natural advantages, the ruin is insignificant, and the position in no degree corresponds with the details of Josephus. For example, Vespasian would never have approached it from "the neighbourhood of Sepphoris" as he advanced from Ptolemais, and Josephus, in coming from Chabolo to Jotapata would have been going farther from the envoys instead of, as he says, approaching them. The distance of *Jefat* from *Kh. Kubra* is much over 40 stadia.

The claims of *Tinckh* on purely philological grounds are, however, stronger than at first appears. It is very probable that the *gamma* of Gabara may represent the Hebrew *'ain*, and the two remaining consonants, the "b" and the "r," are present in *Arrabeh*, only in a different order (as with *Jefat* and *Jotapata*). Moreover, in § 51 of the *Life*, the original Greek has *ἀραβα* (*Araba* instead of *Gabara*), while in some of the MSS. such forms as *γαραβαρα*,

Garabana (*Life*, § 40); γαραβων, Garabon (*Life*, § 51); and γαραβων, Garabo (*Life*, § 47) occur. It is highly probable that the original name was Garaba representing a Hebrew 'Araba. In Eusebius no such name as Gabara occurs, but he mentions an *Araba* in the neighbourhood of Sepphoris.

### JOTAPATA.

Of Jotapata it cannot be said that there are rival suggested sites : all authorities have to admit that *Kh. Jefat* is the probable place, but there appears to be a sense of disappointment in the minds of some of those visiting the site that there is not more to see, as it were, either extensive ruins or real dizzy precipices. Josephus writes of this place in his usual characteristic way, and though his description is very different from the restrained account of, let us say, a trained military engineer, it fits, for those who bear in mind his Oriental style, very fairly to the conditions of the place. It runs:—

"Now Jotapata is almost all of it built upon a precipice, having on all the other sides of it, every way, valleys immensely deep and steep, insomuch that those who would look down would have their sight fail them before it reached the bottom. It is only to be come at on the north side, where the utmost part of the city is built on the mountain, as it ends obliquely at a plain. This mountain Josephus had encompassed with a wall when he fortified the city, that its top might not be capable of being seized upon by the enemies. The city is covered all round with other mountains, that it can no way be seen till a man comes just upon it" (*Wars*, III, vii, 7).

In other passages (*Wars*, III, vii, 35) Josephus mentions the great number of caverns, the absence of any fountain (*Wars*, III, vii, 12), and he states that, after the capture of the city, "Vespasian gave order that the city should be entirely demolished and all the fortifications burnt down" (*Wars*, III, vii, 36).

It is an extraordinary thing how very few travellers in Palestine go out of their way to visit this site. To the summit of the hill is less than half an hours' ride from *Kh. Kānā*, which is only two and a-half hours' ride from Nazareth, and one accustomed to riding can easily visit, as I did, both these places from Nazareth, and reach Tiberias via *el-Battanf* and *Ninrin* in one day. The secluded nature of the site is remarkable. Coming up the woody valley, which runs west and then north-west from *Kh. Kānā*, we came upon a wide open plateau (the plain referred to by Josephus),

dotted over with the black tents of some Bedouin and their flocks and herds. To our south-west the hill of Jefat rose steeply, and a ring of mountains isolated this hill from the country around. Only on the north-west a low narrow neck connects the *Jebel Jefat* with the higher hills farther north. Upon this neck of land, and also for a small distance up the hillsides to the north, lies a confused mass of squared stones—many of them well finished, and some showing signs of their original positions arranged in walls. Among them, at the lowest part of the neck, is a dried up *birkah* (pool). The wall-foundations, the *birkah*, etc., clearly belong to a much later period than that of the Romans, and there is, I think, but little doubt that this *Kh. Jefat*—the remains of a small indefensible village of more peaceful days—is built of materials carried from the defences which once stood on the hill above. Indeed, there are indications of this in the many half-buried stones which strew this steep hillside. For even on this, the one vulnerable side, the hill rises steeply to a considerable height above the neck. On all the other sides, the west, south, and east, the hill falls very precipitously to the valleys. Both the western and the eastern valley rapidly deepen and unite at the south-east corner of the hill to form the wady, which descends and enters *al-Battanij* near *Kh. Kana*. As, persuaded by our Bedouin guides, I scrambled along the hillsides to examine one cave after another, I realized that, if not anywhere a sheer precipice, the slopes were very uncomfortably steep, and over the greater part of the circumference it would have been impossible for any considerable armed force to ascend in the face of an enemy entrenched behind walls commanding such an approach. Unquestionably, it was a site unique in its combination of seclusion and natural strength. Even the northern side—the one weak spot—rises high above the plateau to the north-east and the narrow neck to the north-west.

The summit is crowned by a bare rocky platform, cut about, both to receive the foundations of walls and to give access to underground cisterns; it is now swept clear of every trace of the masonry of the citadel which once stood here. All around the summit are caves, many evidently once cisterns. They lie in three or four tiers along the edges of the highest limestone strata, and many are large and show clear traces of their artificial origin. Several were, on my visit, full of cattle of the Bedouin, here taking refuge from the midday glare.

Properly fortified and defended by a desperate and brave people such a place might well have defied any power less resolute and disciplined than that of Rome. Here Placidus after a sudden violent attack was repulsed and compelled to retreat, and here Vespasian was detained practically all May and June (from 6th Iyyar to 1st Tamuz) in a siege which appears to have been one long assault pressed with unfailing vigour. When the news of the fate of Jotapata was related at Jerusalem "a great many at the first disbelieved it, on account of the vastness of the calamity" (*Wars*, III, ix, 5).

#### TARICHEAE.

Taricheae (*ταριχέαι*)—a name derived from *ταριχης*, "pickled fish," the town finding its chief industry in salting fish—was a very important fortified city on the west side of the Lake of Galilee (*Wars*, IV, i, 1). The population must have been considerable, even if a liberal discount is deducted from the figures given by Josephus, who states (*Ant.*, XIV, vii, 3) that Cassius here captured 30,000 and who (in *Wars*, II, xxi, 4) puts the permanent population at 40,000. After the capture of the city by Vespasian (*Wars*, III, x, 9 and 10), 6,500 are said to have been killed in battle, 1,200 were massacred in cold blood as being old and useless, 6,000 were sent to Nero, 30,400 were sold as slaves and some others were given as a present to Agrippa—altogether a total of about 40,000. Taricheae was important enough to have given its name, at one time, to the whole lake (Pliny, *H.N.*, V, 15); according to the same authority it was south of Tiberias (*H.N.*, XII, 3), and from Josephus we learn that it was 30 stadia ( $3\frac{3}{4}$  miles) from Tiberias (*Life*, § 32). Many ships found shelter in its harbour. Josephus once got together 230 here from all parts of the lake (*Wars*, II, xxi, 8)—and there were, too, shipbuilding yards and many artisans (*Wars*, III, x, 6). There was a hippodrome, proof of its Greek tastes (*Wars*, II, xxi, 3). It was surrounded by walls, of strength inferior to Tiberias—which we know to have been powerfully fortified—except where it was washed by the sea (*Wars*, III, x, 1). This latter statement implies that the sea-front was itself a natural protection, whereas Tiberias needed fortifications along its level shore.

Between the city and Tiberias there were hot baths (*Wars*, III, x, 1, cf. IV, i, 3). "Before the city" there was a plain (*Wars*, III, x, 1) large enough for a considerable body of cavalry to spread

emselves widely (*Wars*, III, x, 3), and there was a hill or mountain adjoining the city so near that archers gathered upon it could prevent those upon the walls coming to the assistance of their companions fighting in the plain<sup>1</sup> (*ib.*).

For the site of a city so large, so strongly fortified and so conveniently situated for shipping, it is not too much, I think, to say there is only one possible place on the whole western shore. This is the large and naturally defensible site known to-day as *Kh. el-Kerak* (Arab. "The ruin of the fortress"). It is a place incomparably the best defended by natural conditions on any part of the lake. It is a large plateau about 1000 yards long by 180 wide, some 15 or 20 feet above the lake level. On three sides it is protected by water. To the north lies the lake, the plateau falling to the lake by steep semi precipitous mud banks, difficult of ascent except where small footpaths have been worn; the water at the foot of the mud-cliffs is nowhere deep, but walking or riding is difficult because the bottom is strewn with large stones. To the east and south-east the Jordan runs, while along the west and south-west there is a broad, and apparently artificial, ditch—still over part of its length a lagoon in connection with the Jordan. At the north-west corner there was once a causeway connecting the island (for such it practically was) with the adjoining land, close to hill *Sinn en-Nabra*. Some remains of a fortress can be traced here and signs of a wall surrounding all but the seaward side of the hill top are still to be found. The whole hill top is strewn with blocks of stone, and fragments of Roman pottery come to the surface everywhere in such quantities as to make it certain that the last time this spot was fully occupied was in Roman times (see *Q.S.*, 1907, p. 103). It must have been a place of great importance, not only from its natural advantages, improved as these were by levelling, by walls, and by the moat, but because of its position. It guarded an important ford (perhaps even once a bridge) at the mouth of the Jordan, and from it passage might have been prevented across the now ruined bridge—*Umm el Kanitir*—a little farther south. It lay upon the main road from Beisân to Tiberias. Its large area, while well adapted to a large city, is ill suited for defence by a small

<sup>1</sup> It is nowhere described that "arrows could be shot into" the city from the overhanging hills as Prof. G. A. Smith implies (*Hist. Geog. of Holy Land*, p. 458).

community and hence, perhaps, it has been for so many centuries a deserted spot.

In the Talmud it is known as *Beth Jerach*<sup>1</sup> (in which one can catch an echo of both Taricheae and of *Kerak*) and it is described as situated at the Jordan mouth.

The land a little to the west is known to-day as *Ard el-Mellaha*, "the salt land," and the Jews have a tradition that this name was due to the fact that their ancestors used to dry and salt fish at this spot. This name and tradition were given me by a very intelligent Jew who had lived four months at a Jewish farm now built on the hill *Sinn en-Nabra* and who had himself never heard of either Josephus or of Taricheae. Curiously enough, too, he did not know the name *Sinn en-Nabra*.

On these topographical grounds, both the data given above from Josephus, and the geographical conditions to-day, this spot appears to suit all the conditions. Nevertheless, many writers have found difficulties for the historical facts given in Josephus: difficulties which, however, are, I think, in no degree comparable with those created by the only possible alternate site. If Taricheae was not at *el-Kerak*, it must have been to the north of Tiberias, and, apart from the statement of Pliny that it was to the south, we are landed with the difficulty that the only possible site is *el-Mejdel*, the traditional site of Magdala. It is a site which shows no remains at all of a city of any size and no fortifications; it must have been so overhung by the mountains that the archers could have riddled the city from the heights; as there is a low, shelving beach instead of mud cliffs it is difficult to see how any fortified city could have been held there without sea-walls, as there were at Tiberias; there are no hot springs between here and Tiberias; the only possible plain on which fighting could have occurred was *d-Ghuweir*, the well-watered and highly cultivated region of Gennesareth, which was in the first place ill suited to cavalry tactics, and secondly, would, without doubt, have been referred to by name had Josephus had it in mind. It is also difficult to see how Titus could have got on to this plain at all—unless he made a long circuit through the mountains—because a city such as Taricheae was must have covered the whole ground between the shore and the lake, and made the passage of a hostile force impossible,

<sup>1</sup> Neubauer, p. 216, n. 2.

except through its walls. Lastly, if such a city lay here, so near the special scene of Our Lord's activities, its entire omission from the Gospel records is far more difficult to explain than if it lay to the south, a part of the lake which Our Lord apparently never visited. The difficulties of this site far outweigh those of *el-Kerak*: indeed, I think it is possible, by a careful study of Josephus, to make his account fit exceedingly well with the geographical conditions.

The sequence of events appears to be this:—Vespasian marched with three legions from Seythopolis (*Briain*), and took up his station “at a certain station easily seen by the innovators”—that is, I take it, by the rebels at Taricheae, for it was out of sight of practically all Tiberias—called Sinnabris. This is the hill *Sinn en-Nabrat*, an easterly spur of the mountain, standing immediately over *Kh. el-Kerak*. It must be remembered that Vespasian, with his well-drilled and well-armed forces, had little to fear from aggressive attack from the ill-disciplined “innovators”; indeed he may have hoped, by this display of force, to overawe them. Titus did much the same later on at Jerusalem, when he arrayed his troops in the Tyropoean Valley (*Wars*, V, ix, 1). From Sinnabris Vespasian dispatched Valerian with fifty horsemen, hoping to get a peaceable entrance to Tiberias. He knew that at Taricheae he had to do with a crowd of rebels (*Wars*, III, ix, 7), but at Tiberias he had a city in which the Jewish king and the mass of the people were prepared to receive and welcome him. He, therefore, left Taricheae to be dealt with later, and hastened to secure the capital. Valerian was met with an “unexpected onset” from a few Jews, and retreated with the loss of six of his horses. The peaceable party, however, with King Agrippa, hastened to Vespasian, and begged that the “madness of a few” might be forgiven. This having been granted, the irreconcilables, Jesus and his followers, thought it not safe to continue in Tiberias, but “ran away” (by ship most probably) to Taricheae—possibly under cover of darkness. The next day the Romans entered the city, breaking down the south wall. Vespasian now “pitched his camp between this city and Taricheae, but fortified his camp more strongly, as suspecting that he should be forced to stay there and have a long war, for all the innovators had gotten together at Taricheae” (*Wars*, III, x, 1). (Does it seem strange that he should have passed this place by while proceeding to the quiet occupation of the capital?) From another passage

(*Wars*, IV, i, 3) we know that the site of this camp was at Emmaus,<sup>1</sup> the modern hot baths near Tiberias. This camp, together with the wide breach in the south wall in its neighbourhood, ensured the safe holding of Tiberias, but, doubtless, a considerable number of soldiers were detached to guard points within the city. During the fortifying of the camp Jesus and his men made an attack upon it, but were repulsed and retreated to their ships (*Wars*, III, x, 1). It is possible that, up to this point, Titus was still either at Sinnabris, or even farther south. Vespasian hearing that a great number of the innovators "were gotten together in the plain that was before the city" (Taricheae), sent orders to Titus, with six hundred chosen horsemen to disperse them. Titus finding how considerable was the force opposed to him—possibly (though it does not actually say so) come out to stop his advance from the south to join his father—"sent to his father and informed him that he should want more forces," and Vespasian sent Antonius and Silo with two thousand archers to seize upon "the mountain that was over against the city," i.e., the lower slopes of the hill known to-day as *Sinn en-Nabri*, and repel those that were upon the wall; that is, as it says a few lines farther down, "to prevent those who attempted to assist them that way." In other words, to prevent a sortie from the people in the city to the assistance of the "great multitude" in the plain. It is difficult to picture any topographical conditions in which a body of archers upon a hill slope could more effectually have carried out their purpose than those here—a narrow causeway abutting on the land at the foot of the very hill where the archers were. Meanwhile Titus, finding the eagerness of his men, delivered a fierce attack upon the "innovators," in which he signally routed them, so that apparently but few found their way back to the city. Immediately after the battle in the plain, there arose a "terrible sedition" among the people in Taricheae. The burgers had never been anxious for the fight, but when they had witnessed the defeat they were terrified: but the various refugees in the city now wished "to fight so much the more." Titus hearing this tumult, "for he was not far from the wall," after exhorting his soldiers,

<sup>1</sup> Oehler (*Z.D.P.V.*, XXVII, p. 15), argues that Vespasian may have made two camps, but this is impossible in the short time—some three weeks at most—between his entering Tiberias and capturing Gadara. Those who have seen what a "strongly fortified" Roman camp was—e.g., at Masada—cannot believe this possible.

"leaped upon his horse and rode apace down to the lake, by which lake he marched and entered into the city first of them all"; in other words, he entered the city by the utterly unexpected route of the sea front, where the only defences were the semi-precipitous earth cliffs before described. A panic and great slaughter occurred. Titus sent to his father to tell him the good news, and Vespasian came thither himself.

The remaining events do not concern us here. I have sketched the events as they appear to me after many visits to this spot, and it seems to me that *Kh. el-Kerak* explains the narrative in a way no other site could do. The city so strongly fortified on all but the sea front, overhung with a spur of the mountains, the plain "in front of the city"; the whole explanation of the unfortified condition of the sea front and the unsuspectedness of the direction of Titus' attack, are evident when we stand on the site itself.

Of the minor difficulties it does not seem worth while going into them *seriatim* here—one or two may be touched upon. Principal G. A. Smith (*H.G.H.L.*, p. 453) says "Josephus, on one occasion, speaks of going to Arbela from Tiberias through Taricheae." If any one will look up the reference (*Life*, §§ 59, 60) he will see that Josephus escaped in desperate haste by boat to Taricheae to evade John who was advancing from the north, and it was not *till some days later*, having in the meantime received important letters, that Josephus decided to go to Arbela. Even had Josephus wished at the first to go to Arbela, it was danger to his life, and not the geographical conditions, which sent him to Taricheae.

Upon the same passage Oehler (*Z.D.P.V.*, XXVIII, p. 17) argues that Taricheae must have been to the north because Josephus nearly met John's men when he went out of Tiberias, but the exact reverse is the case. Josephus says: "I was just upon meeting John who was marching with his armed men. So I was afraid of him, and turned aside and escaped by a narrow passage to the lake, and seized upon it and embarked in it and sailed over to Taricheae." Any argument based on this passage is surely in favour of the southern site? Josephus set out to the north, almost encountered his enemy, and made a rapid retreat by sea away from him.

In the German Palestine Society's publications (*Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palastina-Vereins*) the subject of the site of Taricheae has

been debated through many numbers, but except in the writings of Principal G. A. Smith it does not appear to have received much attention in recent years in England. It is entirely at the instigation of Principal G. A. Smith, in his Introduction to my *Studies in Galilee*, that I have given now what time and attention I could spare to the subject.

FURTHER NOTES ON PALESTINIAN GEOGRAPHY.<sup>1</sup>

By THE REV. CALEB HAUSER, M.A.

1. *Beth Haccerem*, from which a district (Neh. iii, 14) and a beacon-station (Jer. vi, 1) was named, was near, though not necessarily south of Jerusalem. The remark of Jerome that *Bethacharma* was a village between Jerusalem and Tekvah (in his comment on the latter passage) reveals the influence of the passage under discussion; we may accuse him of a looseness of statement. *Bethacharma*, "situated on a mountain," and "one of the villages which he could see every day with his own eyes from Bethlehem," cannot have been situated on the Frank Mountain, where, since Pococke, many have placed it, for in Jerome's time that mountain was crowned by the remains of the *Herodium*, and not by a village upon its ruins, it would seem. In the LXX of Josh. xv, 59, *Karem*, which is evidently the same as Kerem, is named with *Galem* (*γαλιν*) and *Bether* (*βεθηρ*), *Beit Jala* and *Bittir* respectively, and these are in the same group as Tekoah and Bethlehem. Hence the identification of Beth-Haccerem with 'Ain Karim would seem to be correct (Conder, Q.S., 1881, p. 271). Neh. iii, 13<sup>qq.</sup>, affords conclusive evidence. Zanoah, Beth-Haccerem, Mizpah, Beth-Zur, and Keilah are named in roughly consecutive order (taking Jerusalem as a centre), if we place Beth-Haccerem at 'Ain Karim. On the ridge above 'Ain Karim are cairns which evidently served as beacons (Q.S., *loc. cit.*), those to which Jer. vi, 1, refers.

<sup>1</sup> See Q.S., 1909, pp. 275-280; 1910, pp. 126-131.

2. *Meronoth*.—The identification of this place with *Kh. Marrina* (Col. Conder) does not seem sound. According to Neh. iii, 7, Jadon of Meronoth and Melatiah of Gibeon superintended the repair work of the men of Gibeon and Mizpah. Melatiah evidently superintended the work of the men of Gibeon; Jadon, therefore, that of the men of Mizpah. We may therefore conclude that Meronoth was one of the "daughters" of Mizpah, and unhesitatingly identify it with *Kh. el Muran*, about a mile south of *Kh. Batn es Sa'ideh*, identified with Mizpah. These two identifications have reciprocal support.

3. *Kiriath-Jearim*, named with Chephirah and Beeroth as one of the cities of the Gibeonite Confederacy (Josh. ix, 17), and by writers as late as Ezra (ii, 25, Kiriath Arim) and Nehemiah (vii, 29) named with the same towns, was situated, according to the *Onomasticon*, near Mizpah (*Μασηφά*) and nine Roman miles from Jerusalem, on the road to Diospolis (*Ludd*), namely at Kuryet el-'Enab, precisely so situated, and less than two miles from Mizpah as above identified.

Kiriath-Jearim was the later name of the Amorite Kiriath Baal (so Josh. xv, 60; xviii, 14, and *cp.* on change of names Num. xxxii, 38), an important centre of Baal-worship, its sanctuary, or "high-place," being situated at Mizpah. We may here compare the LXX of 2 Sam. vi, 2, according to which David, setting out from Baal-Judah, "went up in the ascent to the hill" (? or Gibeah) *επ τῇ ἀράβαιοι τῷ βούρρῳ*, to the resting-place of the ark. Eusebius seems to be correct when he makes Mizpah to be a resting-place of the ark (*Onomasticon*), "the hill" on which stood the house of Abinadab, into which the men of Kiriath-Jearim brought the ark. Kiriath-Jearim was near Beth-Shemesh, but not quite as near as the words of Josephus (*Ant.*, VI, i, 4: "in the neighbourhood of Beth-Shemesh") would lead us to expect—these were evidently suggested by the narrative of 1 Sam. vi, 1 *sqq.* Consequently, the principal argument for the rival site, *Kh. Erma* (its nearness to Beth-Shemesh), rests on a rather weak foundation. *Kh. Erma* is not only near to Beth-Shemesh, but also too near Zorah and Eshtaol to answer the requirements of the narrative, Judges xviii, 11 *sqq.* That the description of the boundary of Judah and of Benjamin requires the location of Kiriath-Jearim at Kuryet el-'Enab rather than at *Kh. Erma*, may be satisfactorily demonstrated, I believe. In connection with the probable fact that the ark in Samuel's time was at Mizpah,

or at any rate very near that place, we may take a fairer view of the convocations to Mizpah (I Sam. vii, 5 *sqq.*; x, 17 *sqq.*, especially verse 25).

4. *The boundary of Judah and of Benjamin between En-Rogel and Kiriath-Jearim.*—The determination of this part of the boundary has caused some trouble. We may arrive at a satisfactory result by a two-fold process: namely, by first ascertaining the approximate extent of Judaean territory on the one side and of Benjamite on the other, as indicated by the location of identified places belonging to each, and by then tracing in the remaining borderland the boundary as described in Josh. xv, 8 *sqq.*, and xviii, 14 *sqq.*

We may first take a survey of the location of Benjamite towns situated west of the watershed and enumerated in Josh. xviii, 25–28. Gibeon, Ramah, Beeroth, Mizpah, Chephirah, Mozah, Irpeel, Kiriath, and possibly Gibeath have, beside Jerusalem, been satisfactorily identified. All, excepting of course Jerusalem, were situated north of the Jerusalem-Ramleh road. Rekem, named between Mozah and Irpeel, and the following towns, Taralah, Zelah and Eleph, named just before Jerusalem, should also be sought north of the above-named road rather than far south of it.

We next take a survey of the location of the most northerly towns of Judah, enumerated in the last verses of Josh. xv. The cities which the Masoretic Text enumerates in verses 57–59, namely, Gibeath, Timnah, Halhul, Beth-Zur, Gedor, Maarah, Beth-Anoth Eltekon, have all except the last been satisfactorily identified in the territory south of a line drawn across the map from Tekoah to Beth-Shemesh. Between this line and the Jerusalem-Ramleh road there is an extensive tract in which we may possibly locate only two Judaean cities, the names of which the Masoretic Text has preserved, namely Rabbah and the disputed Kiriath-Jearim. But here the Septuagint text of Josh. xv, 59, has preserved the names of a group of eleven cities in the following order: Tekoah, Ephrathah or Bethlehem, Phagor (*Kh. Fagur*), Etam, Koulon (*cf. Kulonich*), Tatum, Thobes (*cf. Hûbin*), Karem (*cf. in Kurim*), Galem (*Beit Jala*), Bether (*Bittir*, *οὐσηρ* (BL), *βαυθηρ* (A)), and Manocho (*Malchah*). Of these cities Koulon (*l.*), Karem, Galem, Bether, and Manocho were thus situated north of the boundary line proposed by Col. Conder and shown on the Old and New Testament Map; Karem and Koulon (*cp.*, however, Buhl, *Geographie*, p. 166) near the Jerusalem-Ramleh road. This road, therefore, traversing the border

land between Judah's and Benjamin's towns, would represent, approximately, the boundary.

Now, turning to the description of the boundary in Josh. xv, we find that it tallies with the above result. From the Valley of Hinnom, the boundary went up to the top of the mountain that is situated before the Valley of Hinnom *westward*, which is at the end of the Valley of Rephaim *northwards*. From the top of this hill (north west of the Valley of Rephaim) "the border was drawn unto the fountain of the water of Nephtoah" (either *Lifta* [Van de Velde] or more probably *Ain et-Tât*, near Deir Yesin), "and went out to the cities of Mount Ephron" (?in the vicinity of Boit Sûrik); and following here the watershed, it was drawn to Baalah, which is Kiriath-Jearim (*Kuryet el-'Enab*). Compare the description of Benjamin's boundary, which agrees.

From Kuryet el-'Enab the boundary passed on to the western part of the ridge on which *Kh. Batn es-Saghîr* (Seir) is located and thence along the wâdy to *Kesla* (Chesalon).

5. *Gibeah*.—As the names of Gibeah and Geba (גְּבָעָה, גְּבָעָה) appear to have been confounded by early copyists, we must first subject the passages containing either of these names to a rigid criticism, in order to enable us to restore the original readings. Isaiah x, 29, distinguishes between Geba and Gibeah. It was Geba, commanding the Michmash Pass, which Asa fortified (Geba [of Benjamin] 1 Kings xv, 22; 2 Chron. xvi, 6; cp. Isaiah x, 28, 29). "And Saul, and Jonathan his son, and the people that were present with them, abode in Geba of Benjamin; but the Philistines encamped at Michmash" (2 Sam. xiii, 16). Between Michmash and Geba, not "Gibeah" (1 Sam. xiv, 5; LXX Cod. B: γαβέε), were the cliffs of Bozez and Seneh. "And Saul tarried in the uttermost part of Geba," not "Gibeah" (1 Sam. xiv, 2). "The watchmen of Saul in Geba" not "Gibeah" (1 Sam. xiv, 16; LXX B: γαβέε). Geba of Benjamin, the headquarters of Saul's Army opposed to the Philistines at Michmash, may be regarded as the strong position to which Jonathan had been assigned, while Saul held Michmash and Mount Bethel, immediately preceding the Philistine advance to Michmash (1 Sam. xiii, 2; LXX B: γαβέε). It is improbable that the Philistines should have had a garrison at the same place; therefore we read "Gibeah" in place of "Geba" in 1 Sam. xiii, 3; the garrison of the Philistines was at Gibeah-Elohim (1 Sam. x, 5). As this was north of Rachel's Sepulchre and Zelzah, and the

Terebinths of Tabor (1 Sam. x, 2 *spp.*) it must also have been the Gibeah of the Book of Judges, north of Jerusalem and south of Ramah (Judges xix, 12 *spp.*), the Gibeah of Hosea (v, 8; ix, 9; x, 9). And as the MSS. show no variations from the stereotype "Gibeah of Saul" ("Geba of Saul" does not occur), we must suppose that the reading "Gibeah" is correct in all those passages in which the royal residence of Saul is intended (1 Sam. x, 26; xi, 4; xv, 34; xxiii, 19; xxvi, 1; 2 Sam. xxi, 6). The reading "Gibeah" would seem to be correct in 1 Chron. xi, 31, also, "Gibeah that belongeth to the children of Benjamin"; for in Judges xix, 4, we have the very similar "Gibeah that belongeth to Benjamin." But Gibeah never appears as Gibeah of Benjamin; whereas Geba is sometimes named Geba of Benjamin. We may, therefore, substitute Geba for Gibeah in 1 Sam. xiii, 15. Geba is correctly written in the phrases "from Geba to Beersheba" (2 Kings xxiii, 8) and "from Geba to Rimmon" (Zech. xiv, 10); also in the passages where it is enumerated as a Levitical city (Josh. xxi, 17, 1 Chron. iv, 60) and in Neh. xi, 31, where the children of Benjamin from Geba are said to have dwelt "at Michmash, and Aiah, and Bethel, and in their villages." As the "fields of Geba" and Azmaveth are mentioned together in Neh. xii, 29, we may perhaps read "Geba in the field" in Judges xx, 31; indeed the pursuit cannot have tended toward the place that had been attacked. The Gibeah of Josh. xviii, 24, may, or may not, be the Gibeah of the above cited passages. There is some probability that it is.

Now, in order to ascertain the location of Gibeah, we collect the notices we have, thus: Gibeah was north of Jerusalem (Isaiah x, 29; Judges xix, 11-14; *cp.* 1 Sam. x, 2-13) and south of Ramah (Judges xix, 11-14), but aside from the highway (*ibid.* v. 12) and not necessarily east of it, but quite possibly south-west of Ramah (Isaiah x, 29). It could not have been at Tell el-Ful, for in that case the men of Israel could not have trodden down the Benjamites "over against Gibeah toward the sun-rising," i.e., east of Gibeah (Judges xx, 43). The repulse was in a north easterly direction, along the highways to Bethel and to Geba (*c.* 31), and Gibeah was, no doubt, quite unassailable, more so than any site east of the highway in this vicinity: for until cut off from the town and forced to fight on the plain, the Benjamites were able to repulse the attacks of the united tribes. It was distinctively "the hill," being frequently called *haq-Gibeah*, and here the claims of Tell el-Ful dwindle down

to insignificance. On the summit there was a high-place (*bāmāh*) in the days of Samuel, and a school of prophets (1 Sam. x, 5, 13); but no idea of sanctity has attached itself to Tell el-Fūl; whereas Neby Samwil sounds all right as a name. The bones of Samuel (*sic!*) were brought there by the Crusaders, as Benjamin of Tudela affirms, but at that time it was the traditional Shiloh, the home for many years of Samuel; it thenceforth became his later home, Ramah, with his tomb; but tradition was wrong in regarding Neby Samwil as Shiloh; it did, however, correctly transmit the notion that Samuel had had something to do with the hill: *i.e.*, it was the home of a school of prophets, which he had founded there. Dean Stanley says that the Mohammedan guardian of the mosque said: "He (*i.e.*, Samuel) built the tomb in his lifetime, but was not buried here till after the expulsion of the Greeks." Furthermore, Gibeah-Ha-Elohim was strategically of such importance that the Philistines there stationed their garrison. And after they had been smitten by Jonathan here, and later at Michmash, Saul made Gibeah his royal residence, thenceforth called Gibeah of Saul (it may, however, have been his residence from the day of his being chosen king, or from the time he was first with the prophets (1 Sam. x, 13, 26). Neby Samwil would be the place for stationing a garrison to keep the Israelites in subjection under the Philistine rule, and for a royal residence one could hardly find a more suitably located place. Finally, we may, as Dean Stanley did, identify *Neby Samwil* with "the great high-place of Gibeon," and demonstrate to a degree of the greatest probability the identity of this high-place with the *bāmāh* on the summit of Gibeah. "From its (*i.e.*, Gibeah's) conspicuous height the name of 'Gibeon' ('belonging to a hill') was naturally derived from the city itself, which lay always where its modern representative lies now" (*Sinai and Palestine*, p. 212). Now whether the derivation of its name be from Ha Gibeah, "the hill," *par excellence*, or from its own position on its lesser hill, Gibeon could have had its great high-place on the great hill south of it, as Jerusalem had its high-places on the adjacent hills, and as the high-place of Ramathaim-Zophim was outside the city walls on some conspicuous eminence (1 Sam. ix, 14). And now, as Saul had the priests at Nob slaughtered, and we next read of the tabernacle at the great high-place of Gibeon (1 Sam. xx, 18, 19, and 1 Kings iii, 1; 1 Chron. xvi, 39; xxi, 29; 2 Chron. i, 3; v, 5) we may regard it as almost certain, that Saul had the tabernacle removed from Nob to

his royal residence Gibeah, to the ancient holy place on the summit of the hill, possibly yielding deference to the wishes of the Gibeonites, who were Nethinim, or slaves of the sanctuary. Probably it was *here* that in one of his fitful moods he "sought to slay" the Gibeonites "in his zeal to the children of Israel and of Judah" (2 Sam. xxi, 4); for they afterwards said unto David: "Let seven of his sons be delivered unto us, and we will hang them up unto the Lord (Jehovah) in Gibeah of Saul, whom the Lord (Jehovah) did choose" (*ibid.*, v. 6). This, no doubt, means, that they wished to expose the bodies of the seven men before the tabernacle at which they served as slaves, and where Saul had made an attempt upon their lives. At any rate, Gibeon and Gibeah being so near together it is very probable that the one was regarded as belonging to the other. Epiphanius (*Haer.* 394) says: "The mountain of Gibeon, eight miles from Jerusalem, is *the highest*." The statement of Josephus that *Gabaanthum* was distant from Jerusalem about 30 furlongs (*B.J.*, V, 2, 1) bears the stamp of inaccuracy on its face, as he brings this place into connection with the Valley of Thorns, which was near Gela. The passage in the *Pilgrimage of Paula* does not give us an idea of the exact location of the site.

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#### NOTE IN REPLY TO Q.S., 1910, pp. 78 sq.<sup>1</sup>

By THE REV. CALEB HAUSER, M.A.

I ADMIT that I did not consult the name lists and the Memoirs. That I cannot, is my misfortune. I relied on the spelling as I found it on the Old and New Testament map; and as to the character of a site answering historical requirements, I may say that I have endeavoured to judge fairly. The ruin *Bethlē* is indeed insignificant, *Jokkethum* is quite small, *Rephaim Jādū* may seem the site of a small watch-tower, never-

<sup>1</sup> *Preliminary remark, added in Press.*—When this note was written, the writer was not aware of the death of Col. Conder. He regrets the necessity of a reply at this date, and begs the reader to bear in mind that a sweeping revision of a note of this character is quite impossible. The writer, moreover, truly believes that nothing contained in this note can detract from the justly high valuation of the work of Col. Conder. May this reply be received as written in the spirit of scientific research, in which, I take for granted, Conder's last criticisms were also written.

theless, I think that these sites represent Minnith, Jokdeam, and Jahzah respectively. Perhaps we may not suppose that Minnith in Judges xi, 33, is named in such a way as Zoar is in Gen. xiii, 10; it quite possibly was one of the twenty *cities* which Jephthah smote. But are we compelled to suppose that Minnith, and Jokdeam, and Jahzah were large cities? Adullam, Keilah, Timnah (in the mountains), Mozah, and other places, if we may judge from the extent of their ruins, were but very small cities indeed. Now as to *Jâzel*, in particular. Tristram in *The Land of Moab*, p. 332, says: "The first ruin of importance west of Medeba is *Jâzel*, with a heap of stones, marking a central fort, and foundations of buildings grouped round it." Whatever Jahaz may have been in earlier times, it seems to have been but a comparatively small fortification in the days of Omri and his successors. According to the Moabite inscription *Yahâṣ*, the residence of the king of Israel, was taken by 200 men; and from the connection in which Nebo and *Yahâṣ* occur in the inscription, it would seem clear that the site of *Rajm el-Jâzel* would be quite appropriate for Jahzah.

Now as to Arabic names. Their spelling is not always of paramount importance. *El-Meshâsh* certainly represents Mapses; but the *p* is not represented in the Arabic name, which, moreover, if we base our identification on the meaning of the word alone, cannot lead to an identification. I note that *Beddîh* is written with a strong final *h*. Can this represent the Hebrew **בְּדִיחָה**? The *T* of *Taricheue* has become *K* in *Kerak*. Yarmuth has become *Yarmûk* (Eusebius already has *Ιερμυχώς*). Now if *K* can take the place of *T*, surely *h* can possibly take the place of *h*, as in the latter case the similarity of sound and sound-production is much greater. I still maintain that a *D* can represent an *N* as well as a *B* can represent an *M*.

I contend that the spelling of *Koreneia* cannot influence the identification with Abel-Cheramim. The name of *Wady Kelt* is spelt with a *Kof*, and yet *Wady Kelt* has long been regarded as the Brook Cherith. Other instances might be added.

Whatever the meaning of *Haddâdeh*, it can, I judge, represent Aroer. "The conversion of the guttural Khet to 'Ain is of constant occurrence." The reverse ('Ain to *He*) may be the case here: 'Aroer= *Haddâdeh*. It certainly is in 'Ai= *Haigâ*. In Hebrew the root שַׁרְרָה is akin to חַרְרָה.

The fact that *el-Fikieh* is spelt with *Kaf*, not with *Kof*, does not induce me to drop the identification with Aphek. *Kanah* (name of Wâdy) is spelt with *Kaf*, whereas the Hebrew has *פָּ*. Where a *Kaf* has survived in place of a *Koph*, this may be due to Greek influence.

I think that *Yhm* with a guttural can be *Yemma*. Achzib has become *el-Zib*; similarly *h* may have been assimilated in the change from Jahzah to *Jâzel*.

The final 'Ain in *Tell el-Matâb'a*, of which I was not aware, would certainly seem to be fatal to the identification with Mizpah; yet as gutturals not any more nearly related than *H* and 'Ain do interchange, it may be wise to hold judgment in abeyance.

*Kheir* for Beth-Car seems to me as likely as anything I could think of.

Certainly, as a rule, Arabic *J* represents Hebrew *Gimel*; in *Q.S.*, 1909, p. 276, however, I stated an exception to the general rule; namely, Hebrew *Yod* (*y*) may change to the related consonant *J* Arabic (analogous to the change from Hebrew *Gimel* (*g*) to Arabic *Kaf* (*k*), as in *Gibbethon*=*Kibbîch*; *Gederoth*=*Katrîh*. I therefore assume this change in both Jokdeam and Jahzah. In the case of Jahzah, I also suppose the change of *Y* for *Y*, as in *Hozah*=*Ozzîch*.

Furthermore, I did not endeavour to connect in meaning such names as *Akrabbim* (scorpions) and *Debbeh* (a tract of ground), *Shen* (tooth) and *Shâmiyeh* (Syrian), *Abel Cheramin* (plain of vineyards) and *Karîmîn* (the two little peaks), *Aroer* (juniper) and *Haddâdîk* (bounds), *Abel* (meadow) and *el-Beid* (the white). I simply mean that partly at least by way of corruption the old Hebrew names may have merged their existence into Arabic ones of similar sound. Thus a spring situated near some tooth-like projection of a mountain may have had the same name, Spring of the Tooth (or Spur). Later on, perhaps, when the Syrians had taken possession of Aphek near by, the spring, perhaps their chief water-supply, would come to be known as the Syrian Spring, *ash-Shâmiyeh*.

*Abila* may have become *Ab-d* (compare *Arbela*-*Irbid*) and so corrupted to *el-Beid*, perhaps on account of the whiteness of the ruins.

*Cheramin*, after the gradual disappearance of viticulture, undoubtedly became *Karîmîn*, because of the two little "horns" then becoming the most prominent feature of the landscape.

The *Yemma* of the Plain of Sharon was not Jabneel of Naphtali, I am sure. *Yhm* must have been situated somewhere just south of Carmel, for at this place "Thotmes had to decide which of three roads he should take over Carmel. *Yhm* must, therefore, have lain near the most southerly road—that is, somewhere south of the *Wâdî 'Aba Nîr*" (*Egy. Bib.*, col. 192). Then the *Suka*, which precedes it in the lists, cannot be the Judean Socoh, but was one that was situated at *Shâweikh*, about two miles south of *Yemma*. Between Socoh and Ono (according to the Egyptian lists) *Apakî* must be sought, and from Josephus' account of the advance of Cestius Gallus (*B.J.*, II, xix, 1) it is evident that there was a "tower of Aphek" between Antipatris and Lydda.

Now in 1 Kings iv, 7 *sqq.*, the order of enumeration clearly shows that the district was not in Judah but north of Ephraim and Dan. I feel confident that both Socoh and Arubboth are correctly identified.

On the evidence adduced, I find no reason to change my opinion with regard to Eben-Ezer, Aphek, and Beth-Car.

TABLE SHOWING THE MONTHLY MEANS OF METEOROLOGICAL OBSERVATIONS  
TAKEN AT TIBERIAS DURING 1909.

By ELIAS BISHT.

Monthly Means.	Barometer.	Att. Ther.	Thermometers.			Rain.	
			Max.	Min.	Dry Bulb.	Wet Bulb.	Inches.
January	... 30·722	59·7	63·6	46·1	56·1	51·3	3·04   12
February	... 30·784	60·4	65·7	45·4	57·11	52·7	3·94   7
March	... 30·779	62·1	74·2	49·9	63·5	57·7	.83   2
April	... 30·714	68	76·4	54·1	66·4	60·3	2·81   6
May	... 30·686	83·8	98·4	67·8	84	70·2	
June	... 30·702	83·1	96·5	63·7	81·4	71·9	
July	... 30·594	87·2	99·2	70·6	86·8	75·6	
August	... 30·621	88·5	101·4	72	86·5	77·9	
September	... 30·711	85·2	95·8	68·8	82·7	72·1	
October	... 30·808	79·6	88·4	61·6	77·7	67·9	1·81   5
November	... 30·860	70·2	77·2	56·1	68·5	53·6	1·95   4
December	... 30·887	67·4	68·4	49·1	63	55·5	2·94   7
Year	... 30·739	74·6	75·4	58·7	72·8	63·8	17·54   45

## DEAD SEA OBSERVATIONS.

By DR. E. W. G. MASTERMAN.

UNFORTUNATELY from a variety of causes, the regular sequence of the observations on the seasonal rise and fall of the Dead Sea level, which had been made without interruption from 1900 to 1908, was suspended during 1909. This spring the observations have been renewed and it is hoped that they will be continued with regularity.

The heavy rainfall of last March (10½ inches) added to the late rainfall of the previous season 1908-1909 (20½ inches) has resulted in a considerable rise in the level of the Dead Sea as, I observed in April, it had also done at the Lake of Galilee. The actual level as measured directly at the P.E.F. mark (made Oct. 9, 1900) is actually higher than ever previously recorded. The distance of the water from this mark was originally 14 feet; in March, 1901, it was 12 feet 9½ inches but subsequently fell considerably; the distance this spring was 12 feet 5 inches—11 inches higher than the *spring* measurement of 1908 and 2 feet 9 inches higher than the *autumn* measurement of 1908.

The extreme limit of variation lies between the lowest recorded in October, 1904, and the height this spring: this is a difference of 4 feet 10 inches.

The visit was made by Dr. Corbett and Mr. Hornstein, and the notes are from information supplied by both of them.

*April 29.*—Left Jerusalem at 1.20 p.m.; Bar. 27·5; slight N.E. breeze. About a dozen storks seen near "Khan of the Good Samaritan"; Bar. at khan 29·2. Left there at 3.30 p.m., and reached Jericho 7.0 p.m.; Bar. 30·75; Temp. (at 10.30 p.m.) 70° F.

*April 30.*—Left Jericho at 5.30 a.m.; Bar. 30·81.; Temp. 63·5.; Wind N.E. A good deal of water still running down *Wady Kelt* beneath the stone bridge newly built for the high road; corn around Jericho ripening. The route taken to 'Ain *Feshkhah* was a new one pointed out by the soldiers who had been sent as guards by Suragha Effendi, the Ma'mour of Jericho. The whole district has been very unsettled and there had been a robbery of a number of donkeys, loaded with wood, in this very part a few weeks before. The new route was by the ordinary tourist road to the north end of the Dead Sea as far as *Deir Hajla* and then by a track running to the right—in a direction S.W.—as far as 'Ain *el-Jelegir*, which was reached at 7.30. From this spring the route runs among bushes to 'Ain *Feshkhah*. A bustard was sighted near Jericho: wood pigeons and crested larks were everywhere. Among the shrubs on the

latter part of the way many boar-tracks were passed and a hare was started.

The reeds at 'Ain Feshkhah were, as usual at this season, rather dry-looking.

The pool was reached at 8.30.

*State of the Weather.*—Fine, a few cirrus clouds; a N.E. breeze; Temp. of air 76 (water of 'Ain 75); Bar. 31.25; the "white line," running N.W. to S.E., was faint and much broken up.

Level of sea was 12 feet 5 inches below the Observation mark and 3 inches above the mark at the pool.

The return journey, made by the same route, took just under three hours.

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### NOTES ON NEW LITERATURE.

In the *Biblical World* for June, Dr. Luckenbill continues his account of the Early Religion of Palestine. He points out the numerous traces of intercourse with Egypt, the scarabs and other amulets, making it probable that "the religion of the common people of Palestine in the Canaanitish period was, in many respects, the same as the religion of the common people of Egypt; that is, it consisted largely in the worship of local 'saints,' and the use of the proper charms and the wearing of proper amulets to ward off hostile powers." He contrasts the few traces of Egyptian influence in the Old Testament with the numerous parallels which the latter has in the Babylonian literature, but is careful to observe that many of the ideas in common were shared by the Semites as a whole, and were also the common property of all peoples. This leads him to a discussion of the theory of a comprehensive Babylonian influence, and of the expansion of an old Oriental doctrine of monotheism, which, it is held by some, was part of Canaanite thought long before the time of the prophets. He shows the hazardous character of this theory, and draws attention to the fact that the famous cuneiform letter unearthed at Taanach, which appeared to prove the recognition of a single supreme god, merely proves the recognition of a "lord of the gods," which, of course, excludes the idea of true monotheism. As Dr. Luckenbill remarks: "scholars will insist upon jumping from a discussion of *monotheistic tendencies*, which are common to most religions which have advanced beyond the primitive stages, to *monotheism as 'Lehre'* [Doctrine], without showing any proof that this development has occurred." It is as strange as it is unfortunate that a great part of the modern speculations of writers who combine the Old Testament with the evidence for Oriental religion is illogical, and contrary to the Biblical evidence. Finally, as regards the Babylonian ideas which are "clearly traceable,"

Dr. Luckenbill believes that "most of them were taken over by the Jews in and after the Exile." Personally, I should prefer to say that the sources which represent most clearly the direct influence of Babylonia belong to this period, thus allowing the possibility that at an earlier period there were extant sources manifesting this influence far more decisively than do those earlier sources which actually survive. Dr. Luckenbill concludes that the excavations, while furnishing little new material for the reconstruction of the religion of the Canaanites, have abundantly illustrated the chief features as they had already been known from a critical study of the Old Testament writings. They do not substantiate "a single claim of the pan-Babylonian scholars, and until these can point to facts instead of building hypotheses upon hypotheses, we may continue to believe that the school of Wellhausen has given us the best reconstruction of the religion of Israel, both as to its origin and evolution." Here again I should feel disposed to modify the statement. A way must be found of reconciling those principles and positions of each "school" which are valid; the Wellhausen *literary* theory affects the relative dates of sources, leaving the path open for other attitudes to the problems of origin and history, and the "evolution" that will account for the evidence must explain the Old Testament as a phenomenon in the entire history of Palestine and its surroundings. For a criticism and estimate of the excavations in their bearing upon some of the problems of modern Old Testament study, this article, the last of a series (see *Q.S.*, p. 236), is extremely useful.

The excavations form the basis of another article in the *Biblical World* (July number), where Prof. L. B. Paton discusses the "cult of the mother-goddess in Ancient Palestine." He gives a good description of the evidence, associating it with the traces of an earlier matriarchy or mother-right. He summarises the leading characteristics of the goddess who, as the Ashtoreth (or, rather, Astarte, the Babylonian Ishtar) of the Old Testament, is well known from the denunciations of the writers. In any effort to present a synthesis of the data, there is room for divergence of opinion; and Prof. Paton's lucid sketch, while explaining those features which are most familiar to readers of the Old Testament, does not appear to distinguish sufficiently the mother-goddess as mother and as goddess from those rites and customs which, to another age, are cruel and obscene. The form of the cult is one thing, the place held by the goddess in the lives of her worshippers was another, and it is not amiss to refer to Mr. L. W. King's *Seven Tablets of Creation* (London, 1902), Vol. I, pp. 222 *qq.*, where he publishes and translates a Babylonian prayer to Ishtar, which he rightly describes as "one of the finest Babylonian religious compositions that has yet been recovered." Deities cannot be properly estimated merely from a survey of the circumstances of their cults.

In the *Revue Biblique*, July, 1910, Father Dhorme continues his series of articles on Assyria and the Bible Lands, summarizing, in admirable manner, the relevant Assyriological evidence. The instalment covers the reigns of Tiglath pileser's son Shalmasseser (now found to be the fifth of this name) and Sargon. Father Jaussen gives one of his well-known sketches of modern native custom, dealing, in this case, with some examples of Arab religious expression from the Judaean desert. Its value, as usual, lies, not merely in the light it throws upon modern Arab belief, but in the many suggestive hints it offers for a truer understanding of the Palestinian of the past. Father Vincent summarises the supplementary account of the German excavations at Jericho, and shows, in an interesting way, how, in default of the discovery of historical or other inscriptions, the archaeological results may be used to make our knowledge of ancient Jericho more vivid and real. Besides describing a new Israelite seal, he contributes an account of the recent discovery of Herodian remains near the Citadel.

In *Memnon* (1909, pp. 1-48), Dr. A. Wirth argues for a primitive race spread over Southern Europe, Western Asia, and North Africa previous to the settlement of the Semitic and Indo-European peoples. The race is not to be identified with Mongolian, Hamitic, or other leading branches; and since its modern representatives are settled in the Caucasus mountains, he calls it Caucasian, or preferably (as this term now includes Aryans and Semites), "Casian," after Kas, from which the term Caucasian is derived. He finds evidence for this race in the linguistic affinity of the Caucasian, Basque, and Berber languages, in the traditions of migrations, in various archaeological features, and in the study of primitive geographical names throughout all the Mediterranean lands.<sup>1</sup>

In view of the interrelations between Palestine, Syria, Egypt, and Aegean peoples, it may be useful to summarize the chronology which has been recently proposed by D. Fimmen (*Zeit und Dauer der Kretisch-Mykenischen Kultur*, 1909). He places before 3000 B.C. the first two dynasties of Egypt, and the neolithic culture of Cnossus, Phaestus, and also of Phocis and Boeotia. To the next millennium he assigns the Egyptian dynasties III-XI; Early Minoan periods I-III, the early culture of the Cyclades, and at Tiryns; Troy, cities I and II; and the oldest graves of Cyprus. Between 2000 and 1700 come Egyptian dynasties XII and XIII, and Middle Minoan periods I and II. In 1700-1550, come the Hyksos period, the beginning of the XVIIIth dynasty in Egypt; Middle Minoan III and Late Minoan I; shaft graves at Mycenae. To the next 150 years (1550-1400) belong the rest of the XVIIIth dynasty; Late Minoan II; the palaces of Mycenae and Tiryns. To 1400-1250, Amenhotep III and IV, and the XIXth dynasty in Egypt; Late Minoan

<sup>1</sup> This and the following paragraphs are based upon the summaries in *The American Journal of Archaeology*, 1910, Part II, p. 206.

III; Late Mycenaean styles at Mycenae, Tiryns, etc.; Troy, cities II and III. Finally, to 1250 and later belong the XXth Egyptian dynasty (to *circ.* 1090); geometric decoration; local Mycenaean vases of Cyprus.

A recent attempt has been made by H. Grimme to show that the Assyrian term *Meluhha*, which has been located in Arabia, the Sinaitic Peninsula, or in Upper Egypt, is etymologically identical with the Hebrew *Amalek* ('*Amalek*). Following this out, he presents a combination of the Babylonian and Old Testament evidence for the history of the district with which the Amalekites are associated (*Orient. Literaturzeitung*, 1909, col. 241 *sqq.*).

S. A. C.

### AN OLD SARCOPHAGUS AT GAZA.

THE Jerusalem paper, *El-Kuds*, in its issue of February 25th, gave an interesting account of a discovery made at Gaza, and Prof. R. A. S. Macalister has kindly forwarded a translation of the relevant portions of the description. After some remarks on the history of Gaza, the paper proceeds as follows:—

"We have been induced to record the above by our having heard that Musa el-Burtu and his partner, Ibn Halaweh, of the people of Gaza, bought land at Gaza for 600 dollars; and that when Musa went to his land and was working and digging in it, he found a little door. He entered by it into a cave divided into two chambers, and, entering through the second door, he found a coffin of hard wood. And he opened it, and in the coffin was another of crystal. And he broke this, and inside it he found one of the old queens embalmed, and on her head a crown adorned with precious stones, and on her neck a necklace of pearls, and three chains besides on her breast; and above her head was a candlestick of gold with a spout a metre and a-half long, and another at her foot a metre long. And he collected all these things and brought them to Beyrouth, and thence to Egypt; and we have learnt that he sent to his partner in Gaza to pay to the workmen a sum of 500 napoleons.

"And when the government heard of this they sent, on their part, a number of people to the said place to preserve and protect it, because the tomb in which the queen was found is of marble, and her portrait is carved on it. And there are other graves besides."

We are, fortunately, able to supplement this by an account sent to us by Mr. Kneshevich, of Gaza, who has also kindly forwarded a photograph of the sarcophagus and a sketch, which we here reproduce:—

"At the commencement of this year some men were digging out stones in their orange garden, about two miles to the north-west of Gaza, and

after reaching a depth of 6 metres, came upon the ruins of an old door, which led to a big cave about 5 metres by 6 metres, and about 3 metres in height. In the floor and walls of this cave, some tombs were found containing bones, the remains of dead bodies, and a number of idols resembling men, monkeys, eagles, and dogs. These were made of clay and plaster of Paris, and were tinged with a beautiful green tint. In the cave another door was observed; this led to another small cave, about 2 metres by 3 metres, and 2 metres in height, in which was found the sarcophagus, of which the following is a description:—



The Sarcophagus at Gaza.

*From a Photograph by Emil G. Kneshevich.*

"The sarcophagus was by itself in the inner cave, strongly fortified by a sort of a vault built over it of huge stones and plaster of Paris, to prevent it from being damaged. When the stones were removed there appeared this beautiful and remarkable sarcophagus. It was made of pure white marble, and was composed of two pieces, the lid and the coffin. When the lid was taken away, there was found the mummy of a female in a fine state of preservation. The coffin was 220 centimetres long, 70 centimetres wide, and 72 centimetres high. Unfortunately the men who found the mummy destroyed it in searching the coffin, hoping to find precious antiques, but they assert that they found nothing, save an artificial tooth attached to a golden wire. Some people say, however

that a book and some precious things were discovered. No inscription of any kind was upon the sarcophagus.

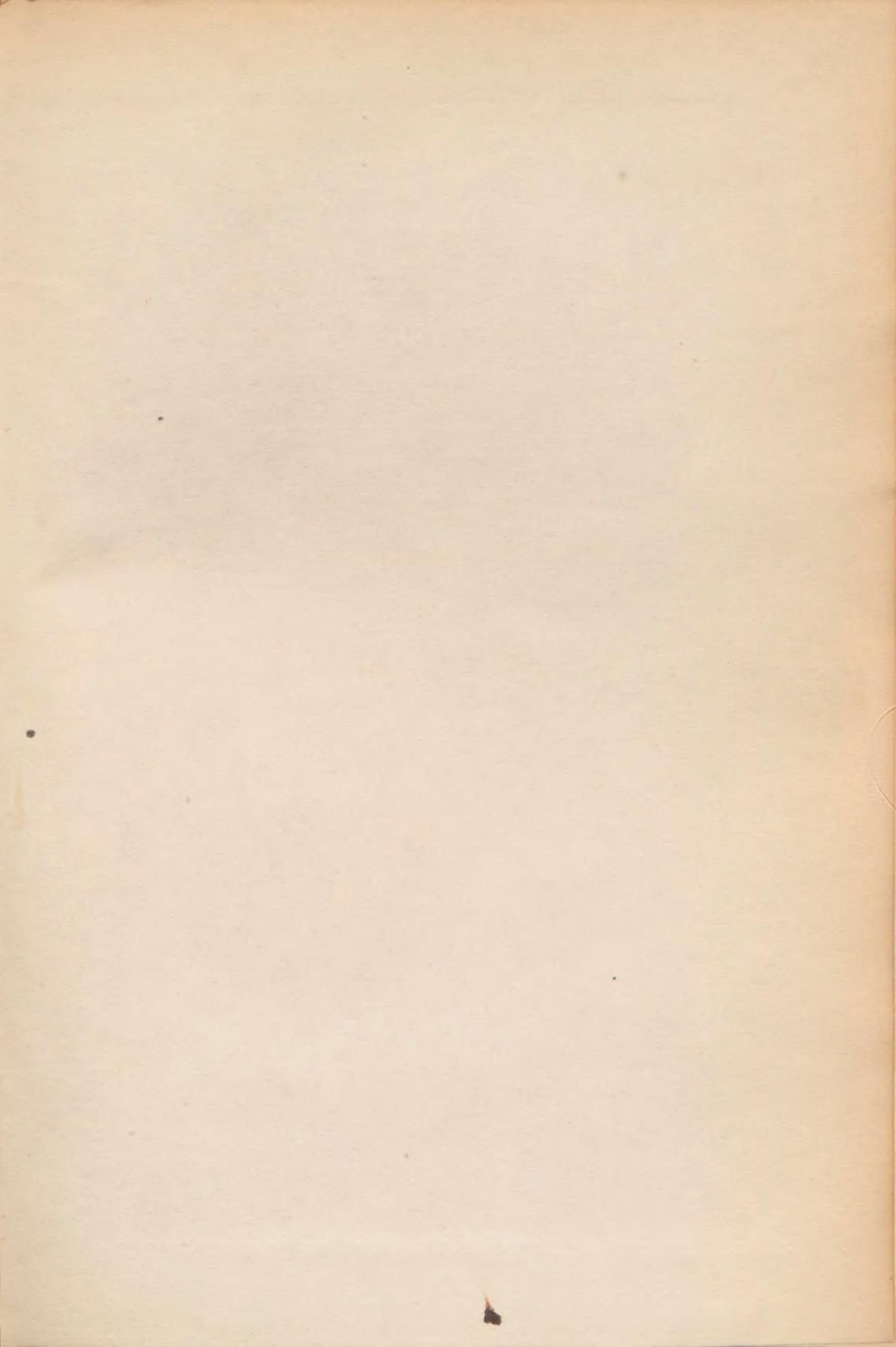
"The lid was beautifully and artistically carved in the exact form of the mummy. Nothing except the head, neck, and shoes were seen, and the rest of the body was carved so as to appear swathed in bandages of linen. The head was neatly fashioned, and the eyes and lips were painted their natural colour. The head was bound with a fillet, the hair was loose and thrown on both sides of the chest. The head, fillet, and the nose suggest that the mummy was a Roman, but the shoes, as carved on the lid, are Egyptian.

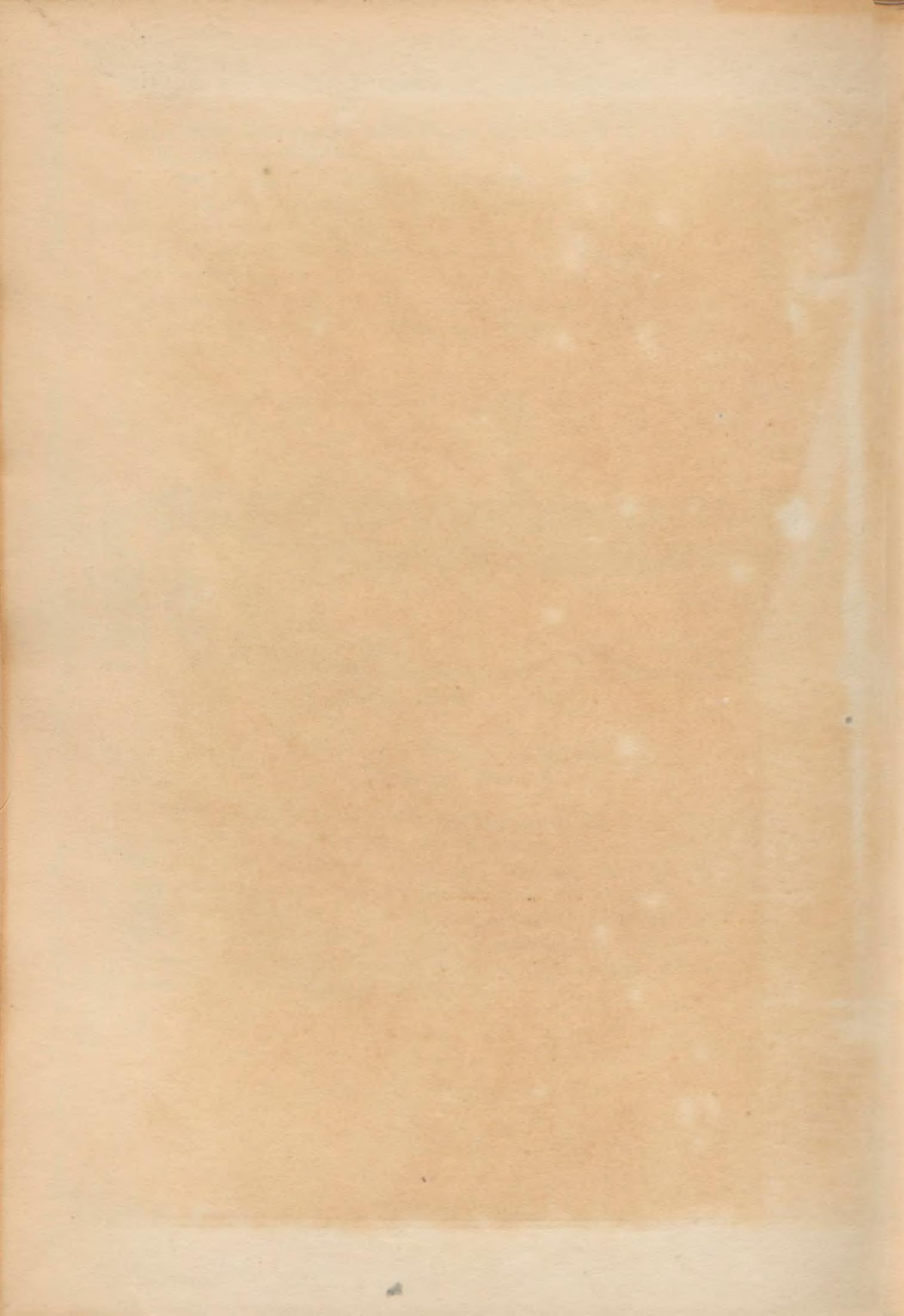


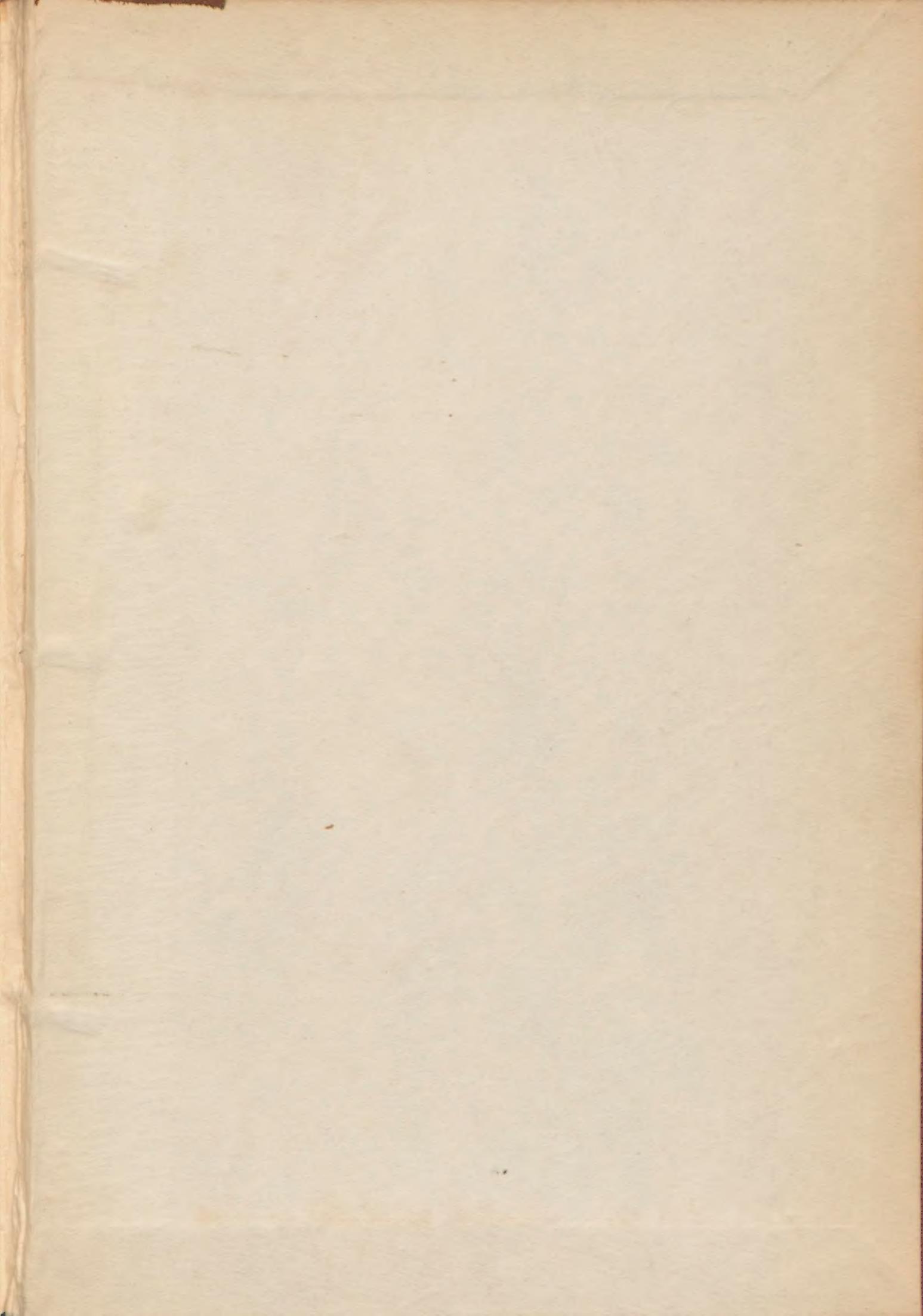
Sketch of the Sarcophagus at Gaza.

*By Emil G. Kneserich.*

"The lower part of the coffin also was cut in the shape of the body, as shown in the above photograph. The place that supported the head was carved to resemble the head and neck, and the lower part of the coffin, that rested on the ground, is carved in the shape of the back part of the body, as shown in the accompanying sketch. The local government got possession of the sarcophagus and dispatched it to Constantinople, together with the remains of the mummy and the above-mentioned idols on the 26th of May last."







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